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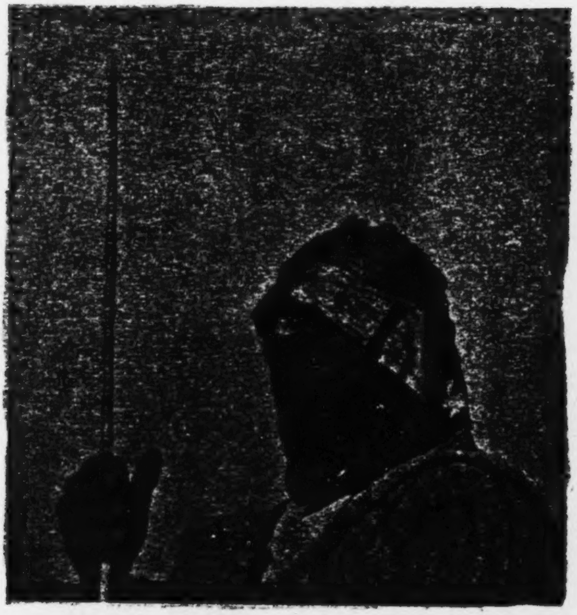

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The Hoggar Tuareg
(Les Touaregs du Hoggar)

By Henri Lhote

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Book IV

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

Social Organization

The Ahaggar Confederation

Chapter 1

Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since
all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we
[184 say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in
177] general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization
remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other
groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

The Ihǎggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private
565 property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the
protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery.
The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

565 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the
564 different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg, whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

According to some authors, the caste system is specifically
171 Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser de-
564 gree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 The crystallization of that organization among this people,
564 who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large rôle.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds, religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklân). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemâren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

174 The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars
and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to
183 get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker.
565 Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

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(1) Deniker, _Les races et les peuples de la terre_ /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

174
182 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
565 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
[554 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated
among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they
occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

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1. *La conquête du Sahara* /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. *La conquête du Sahara*, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

171
601 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This
591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live
[851] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes
768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her.

000
586 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
177 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an
Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes
which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation.
It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has
written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors
the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus
that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which
the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a
562 matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
[178] her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[611] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
[554] Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's
position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on
choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has
[421] free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes,
and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy
among the Tuareg.

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1. *Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle* /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

2. Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leatherwork. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life amông the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/, " L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihăggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hînân, maternal ancestor of the Ihăggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman
named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author
of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the
elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official
[562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the
guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is
[626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an
Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No
one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us
any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored
182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal
515 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of
643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").

[192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme
chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes.
[184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of
fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

643 According to the rules cited above, the political succession of an aménokal goes in the first degree to his brother; in the second degree, that is, if he has no brother, to his first cousin, the eldest son of his maternal aunt; and in the third degree, to the eldest son of his eldest sister. In fact, this is what comes out of the genealogical [114] study of the Ahaggar chiefs made by Mr. Benhazéra, (1) modifying the order indicated by Duveyrier who attributed the succession to the eldest son of the eldest sister. (2)

For reasons we do not know, these rules have not always been followed. Thus, Aménokal Younès succeeded his /155/ father Mohamed el Khir, and Aménokal Ǎitarel /succeeded/ his cousin El Khadj Akhmed, even though the latter had closer relatives. More recently, upon the death of Aménokal Akhamouk, his second cousin Meslah was named to replace him, although he had a first cousin, son of the sister of the former Aménokal Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, who was removed from command because of incompetence.

184 643 Among the Tenguériguif /Tehgeredief/, chiefs are chosen alternately from two lateral lines descended from the same chief, Ikhmed. Thus the deceased aménokal can never be succeeded by his brother, but by a second or third cousin, who is not necessarily taken from the uterine branch. The nomination of the aménokal is submitted to an assembly of notables for their approval, just as among the Ihǎggaren.

Among the Ioullimmiden, since Aménokal Our Ilmet (1650-1715), out of fourteen chiefs who succeeded one another, we note six successions from father to son, two from brother to brother, two

1. Six mois dans l'Ahaggar /Six Months in the Ahaggar/.

2. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, p. 397.

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet,
the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed
Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, *Les Oulliminden*.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal
and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. *Les races de l'Afrique* /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

The amĕnokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
643 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one
651 reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction,
either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in
skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll.
He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of *tamaa*. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due
from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in
use a little less than a century ago.

643 The amĕnokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
called *tobol*; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum,"
[534 "cylinder of a drum."
177
192]

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal
always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out excep-
643 tionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-
green and red silk. (1)

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français. Afrique noire*, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Ihǎggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from
which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the
tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory
173 of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and
thus the former Aménokal Aitarel was accustomed to saying that the
Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of
the Ihǎggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Tǎitok, and the Tégéhé-
Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the
profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total
extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

2. Benhazéra, *Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar*, p. 107.

578 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal
643 times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one
692 another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His
authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

578 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal
643 disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made *you*
692 king?"

It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign
643 tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the *arollan* -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves
[644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent,
534 indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (*imîtkar*). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go
[492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war,
[202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

643 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking
644 his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called *taousit*, has its *amrar*, who,
631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek,
[192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension,
[643 "possessor of wisdom." It is
534] the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the *tioussé* intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

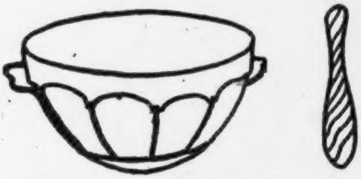

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the *arollan*, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call *tégéhé*, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name *taousit*, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of *amrar* among the Ihǎggaren and *agoalla* among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least
[171] among the Ihǎggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the
565 aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock
192

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
192 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already
197 said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir,
which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists
in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid
foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them
to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
565 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
701 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the
631 vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can
accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood,
who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on
their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of
participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling
thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous
conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they
intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden
to their vassals.

They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
422 565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the
necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly
necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so
many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not
abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the
camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account
the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

566 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of
grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to
the aménokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances
for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The aménokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.

651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the
Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the
nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate
raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 631 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exercise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

177 631 565 511 The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace. Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of foresight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off. In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

291 565 178 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north," Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh," were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

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1. *Les races de l'Afrique*, p. 129.

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554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
565 ing how to play the violin.

[831 Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842 Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
[648] other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
871] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 [651] from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter [582] [641] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time refusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions. [184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These [582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

[192] They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 565 793 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

174 565 793 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too frequent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/ marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet, Les noms des tribus Touaregs /Names of Tuareg Tribes/, p. 10.

565 793 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier [144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of [142] Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

565 631 793 The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated any political role in the administration of the confederation in order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than
he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifôra were pillaged
themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to
seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper
than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact,
they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their
chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving,
they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and
disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us,
in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tădemaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.

797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base
of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they
preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifôra was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tădemeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from
the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents.
They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
181 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen
701] are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in
practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."

[422] In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances
the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the
invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the
country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a
decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more
"Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment,
as well as less ethnic pride.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to
raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs
631 internally as they see fit, without intervention of the aménokal or the
[642] Imochar in their affairs.

In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than
162 the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to
eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were
565 often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by
721 their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own
each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were
successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles.
This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full
well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable
to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals
one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during
a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the
others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the
same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This
is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

565 [595] Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 241 565 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error, certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

114 565 566 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[651] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[643] chiefs participate in the election of the aménokal, and they them-
[657] selves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

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1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates
the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren
and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the
Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are
appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their
race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their
name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten
has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or
Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are
Irréguénaten among the Ihǎggaren as well as among the river
Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihǎggaren and in the Timbuktu
region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They
have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer
their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from
them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the
Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 There are also important tribes in the Sudan who bear the name
[174] of Daoussak. They are generally considered /168/ Imrad, but actually
[701] the Daoussak were probably former Ioullimmiden shepherds who were
not authorized to carry the lance and take part in combats. They
[793] tend to give themselves a certain marabout air, and they multiply
the Koranic schools in their camps.

Iborelliten. -- We can rank among assimilated vassals still other free tribes, quite little known until now, who bear the name of Iborelliten (singular, Aborelli).

They speak the Tamashek language and on the surface are in no way different from the Tuareg in the midst of whom they live. In some confederations they form very distinct tribes, depending in general only on the direct authority of the chief of the confederation; such tribes are those of the Aïr who are under the command of the anastafidet of the Kel-Oui. (1)

They are more or less colored depending on the group, and some are as white as the Tuareg. They intermarry among themselves

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1. The Kel-Aïr are divided into Kel-Gerès and Kel-Oüi, placed under the authority of the Sultan of Agadez. The Kel-Oui, probably of Oraren /Oûraren?, see below p. 37./ origin, have mixed enormously with the sedentary Hausa. Because of that they have diminished in the eyes of their racial brothers, who now consider them Negroes. They have a peculiar organization, and their chief bears the name of anastafidet.

563 and may be owners of slaves and herds. They sometimes seek [582] matrimonial alliances with the Imrad, but the latter, who hold them in rather great contempt, most often refuse.

According to Nicolas, the Iborelliten might be captives of a 114 563 higher origin. (2) For de Foucauld, (3) Aborelli (plural, Ibourelliten)

[192]

2. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 579-586.

3. *Dictionnaire touareg-français* /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, vol. I, p. 79.

designates a mulatto of a white man and a Negress, or inversely. In our opinion, it should be added that one of the parents is of Taureg origin; and we are all the more convinced that this trait is [192] indispensable since de Foucauld elsewhere refers to the ordinary mulatto by the name of Achardan (plural, Ichardanen). (3)

3. *Dictionnaire touareg-français* /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, vol. I, p. 79.

We have gathered information in the regions of Tahoua and Gao, where *éborelli* refers to a child born of an Amajer and a non-captive Negress, or of a foreign woman. The Iborelliten are therefore mulattos born of mixed parentage, Tuareg and Negro.

563 As groups of Iborelliten we shall cite the Igdâlen of /169/ the Aïr and the Aboghelitè spoken of by Barth, (1) who were born of

1. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 204.

Tuareg mothers (Imóchar, according to Barth) and Negro fathers. Another Iborelliten tribe, of Tuareg and Peul stock, said to have

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are
563 referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives
567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe,
[727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former
captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave
are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten
or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular,
Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan
[192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)
and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

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2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors
[428] of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally,
567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp,
582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which
583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not
[836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

665 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are
567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay,
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565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can
inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

167 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[538 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
[304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar
who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Ǎmǎstan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
567 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes
[illegible]

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
648 liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

567 charged with tending their flocks. These are the Iklan-n-Egef, or dune captives. In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Bella or Bouzou.

Secondly, captives may be liberated through generosity in return for services rendered; then they are called Iderfan.

The Bella, without being definitely freed, live freely, and the Tuareg let them earn their living the best they can. In addition to tending the flocks, many of them engage in small industries. They
[463] gather up wood to sell in the urban centers, make charcoal /173/ for the same destination, and some women have become potters.

They are then organized in tribes and live like nomads in tents, just as the Tuareg, practicing endogamy, but remaining enfeoffed to an Imochar or Imrad tribe. In case of a conflict they side wholeheartedly with their masters and participate in combats as foot soldiers armed with javelins.

Several of these tribes are known in the region of Timbuktu, among the Igouadaren and the Tenguéréguif, in the Gao region, among the Ioullimmiden, and among the Kel Dinnik (eastern Ioullimmiden) from the Tahoua region. There are none among the Ihaggaren, however.

In the Ahaggar there are no Iklan-n-Egef except in individual cases.

Iderfan. -- The word Iderfan comes from the root sederf: "to free (by amplification) one who is no longer able to render good service." (1)

In principal, one cannot get rid of a slave by freeing him if he is stricken by old age or slows down in his work.

Actually the case comes up from time to time, especially among the Sudanese Tuareg. But emancipation may be the result of a pious gesture on the part of the master. At other times, some

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1. Nicolas, *op. cit.*, pp. 579-586.

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority
of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan
564 class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of
the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to
a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

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1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure
origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are
happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for
[754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic.
Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating
them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with
whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem
[751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter
do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in
preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral
principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the
[837] Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for
lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ag[illegible], they have the right to
go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this
natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight
[726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat,
since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed
toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those
[626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Énad, for this brings misfortune
and the Énad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called *ag'gou* (plural, *ag'gouten*) and
184 sometimes play the part of jesters (*griot*). Some are musicians and
564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the
amĕnokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several *griots* attached
to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not
[626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to
which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which
564 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts,
436 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd
454 enough to repay them one day.

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds
and are gifted with an intelligence
higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted
posts with the principal chiefs, who
have used them as emissaries or
interpreters, indeed even as
[752] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, aménokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even
individually; they are attached to
a chief or a tribe.

564 Although they are foreign to the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

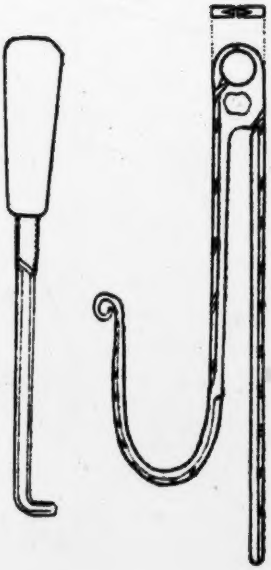

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named
Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have
originated in Adrar des Ifôras. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who
formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

174 564 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire [301] [531] and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North [171] Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

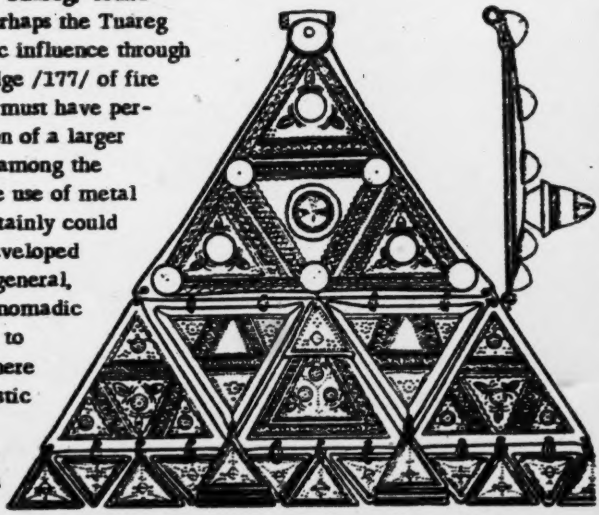

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [727] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihăggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Ădrar des Ifôras

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dǎg-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati w[illegible] descendants are n[illegible] settled among the Tǎitok. 564

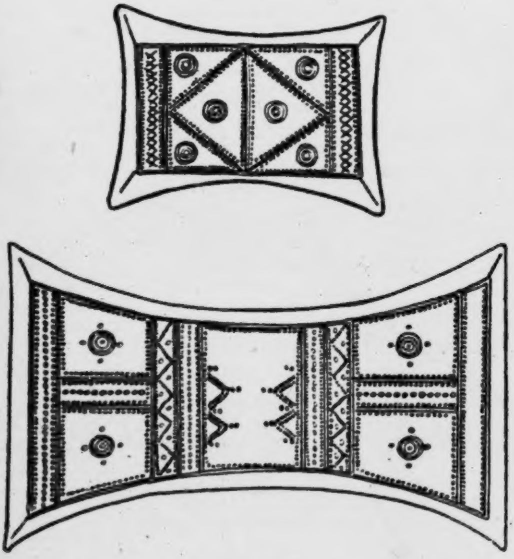

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Aménokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 531] [692]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

564 [651] [567] The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and even among some Imochar.

[414 531 326]

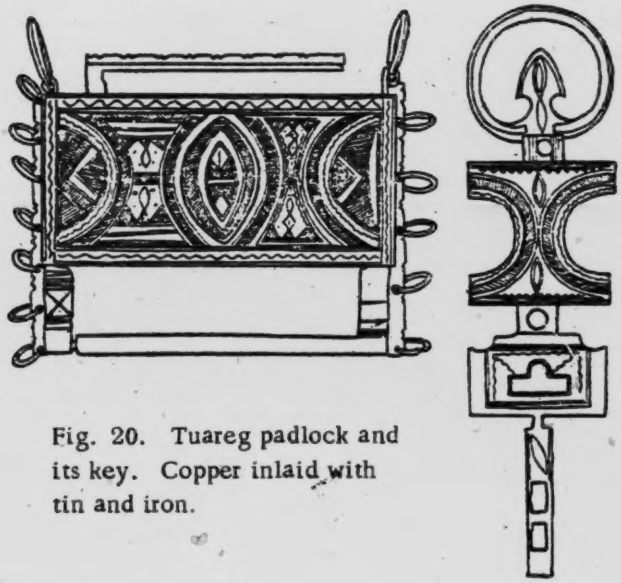

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Ǎdrar des Ifôras, known as Tǎdemeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

173 This tradition is also found among the Ioullimmiden and in all the fractions now camped in the Adrar and on the banks of the Niger, which implies the idea of a common origin in their minds.

Another legend, which originated in Arabic writings, takes the arrival of the Ihăggaren in their present habitat back to the sixteenth century. Formerly they had been settled in the Ajjer and Fezzan.

As we have already related, the Ahaggar nobles claim, on the one hand, to be of sherif origin descended from the Edrissides of Fez. This claim cannot be believed, except with regard to a few families who contracted alliances with marabouts coming to settle among them. In fact, tradition relates that the Arab sherifs came to settle among the Tuareg after Islamization and established great authority over them. Profiting, then, from the anarchy which reigned there, kept up by the constant rivalry between clans, the sherifs seized power and were able to keep it for a long time. These sherifs belonged to the family of Imenan, "sultan," who founded families by marrying high-born Tuareg women, thus forming a new nobility. They kept their authority for a long time, thanks to the support of an important tribe, the Imanrassâten, descended from the eastern Arabs.

The Imanan /sic/ sultans then grouped the Tuareg of the Ahaggar and the Tassili-n-Ajjer under their authority. But the national character, sharpened by the vitality of the old Berber customs, finally revealed itslef among the Tuareg. As a result of extortion on the part of the Imanan, several tribes revolted /181/ in a show of independence, and an Ajjer noble named Biska from the Oûraren fraction killed the Imenan Sultan Goma. This was the beginning of a series of wars between the Oûraren tribe, which made itself the champion of independence, and the Imanan and their Imanrassâten allies, a fight in which the Oûraren, after battles some favorable and some unfavorable, finally triumphed.

As a result of these events, the suzerainty of the Imanan was henceforth destroyed. The successors of Goma, who still bore the title of aménokal, tried in vain to re-establish their authority during interminable strife.

173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Oûraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Taîtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Taîtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Taîtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Taîtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihǎggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ǎhaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
631 Taîtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
648 ag Ǎmâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Aziouel,

175 the Taîtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amâstan, caused us several
disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Aït Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Toûnîn, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taîtok still persists today. But since the Taîtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglân, the Ikerremîen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the
Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hînân, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sîdi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taîtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

173 Another fraction, the Ikerromo'len, was formed meanwhile. The ancestor of this tribe, named Akerromo'l, was of guérissouten origin from A'ir, and had married a noble Ahaggar woman, daughter of the tobol; their most famous descendant was Aménokal Moussa ag Ǎmâstan.

As for the Iboglân, their ancestor is a man called Khatita, brother of Sakal, the chief of the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal. He had married a Kel Réla woman.

The Tégéhé-n-Ǎgg-Ali gave birth to the Inemba, and their name disappeared with the last men of that old tribe.

According to legends gathered among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, Ti-n-Hînân had seven daughters, three of whom had children who were the forefathers of the present tribes. The first engendered the Iboglân and the Inemba; the second, the Ikerremo'len and the Kel Ehan Mellen; the third, the Kel Rela, the Tǎ'itok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

Let us interpret the legend by saying that descendants of the three daughters of Ti-n-Hînân are found in the different tribes mentioned.

173 According to another legend current in the Ahaggar and reported by Mr. Benhazera, (1) Ti-n-Hînân had three female descendants who were the ancestors of the three principal noble families of the Ahaggar; we do not know how many generations separated them. They are:

Tinirt, the antelope, who was the ancestor of the Inemba

Tahenkat, the gazelle, who was the ancestor of the Kel Rela

Tamerouelt, the doe rabbit or female of the hare, who was the ancestor of the Iboglân

The Kel Rela (alteration of the word Kella) owe their right to the tobol to Kella, a descendant of Tahenkat, who was married to Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir.

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1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 92.

173 The Kel Rela have accurately kept the memory of the filiation of their aménokal from Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir down to the present aménokal. Formerly, the filiations were established through the women, but aside from a few of them, their names have been forgotten. This very clear demarcation dating from the seventeenth century indicates a profound modification /186/ in the rules of succession and a pronounced weakening of the absolute matriarchal system.

Succeeding Aménokal Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir (ca. 1750) were the following:

Younès ag Sidi (ca. 1790)
Ag Mama ag Sidi (in 1830)
El Hadj Ahmed ag El Hadj el Bekri (1830-1877)
Ăitarel ag Mohamed Biska (1877-1900)
Ăttici ag Ămellal, named at the same time as /the following/
Mohamed ag Ourzig (1900-1905)
Moussa ag Ămâstan (1905-1920)
Ăkhamouk ag Yema (1920-1941)
Meslah ag Ămyas (1941-)

Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir ag Salah married Kella, great-granddaughter of Tahenkat, herself the daughter of Ti-n-Hînân, the ancestor of the Ahaggar Tuareg. He had nine children, six of them girls, who are the ancestors of all the great present-day families from whom the following aménokal were taken. He is the founder of the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

He died about 1790, after having yielded, or so it seems, to all the demands of the Tăïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet on the subject of the dividing up of the Imrad. He had to carry on a war with the Tăïtok, but finally conquered them, and peace was made. His two sons then married two Tăïtok women.

Younes ag Sidi succeeded his father. He was the eldest of the children of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. He married a Tăïtok woman by whom he had a son, Améchaoui, who later became amrar of the Tăïtok through the blood of his mother.

1: Lhote--41a . E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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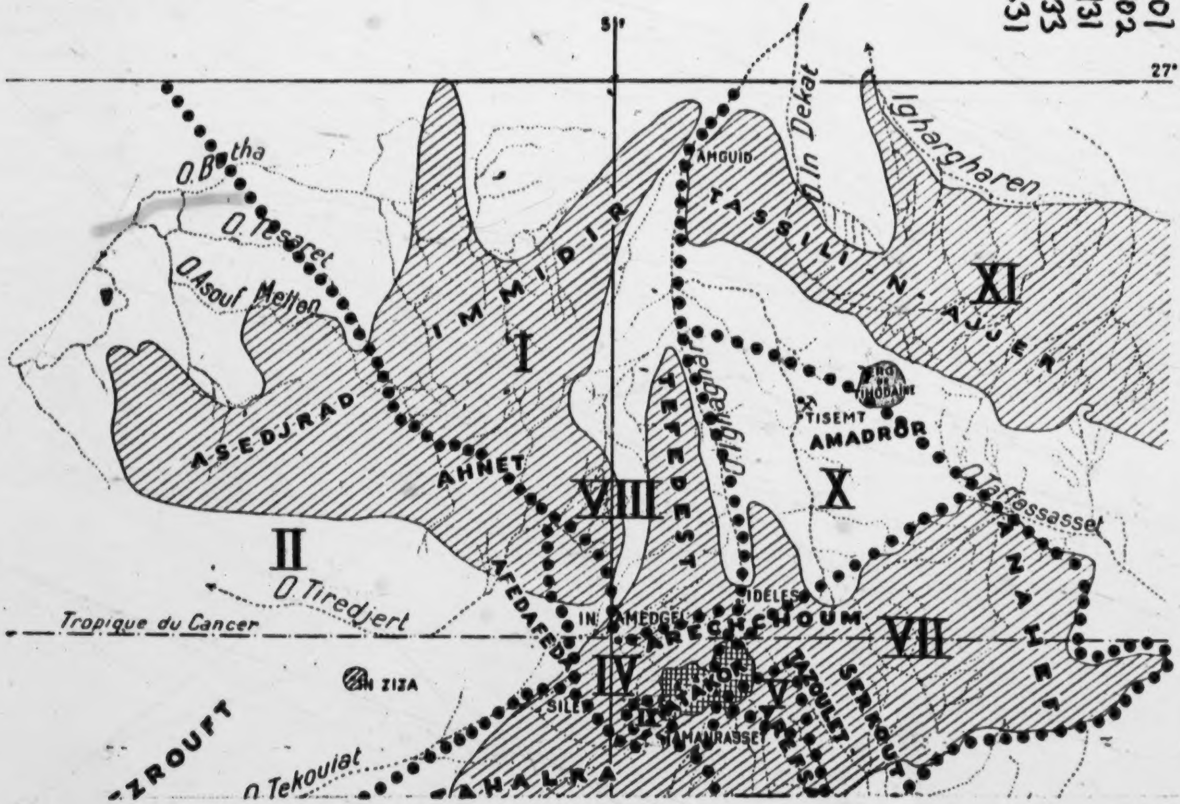
5°
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O. Botha
O. Tesaret
O. Asouf Mellen
ASEDJRAD
IMMIDIR
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AHNET
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Tropique du Cancer
VIII
AMGUID
TASSILI N AJJER
XI
O. In Dekat
Igharghren
TEFEDEST
O. Igharghar
ERG DE TIHODAÏNE
TISEMT
AMADROR
X
O. Tafassasset
ANAHEF
VII
IDELES
IN AMEDGEL
ARECHCHOUM
AFEDAFEDA
IV
SILET
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TEFES
AHALKA
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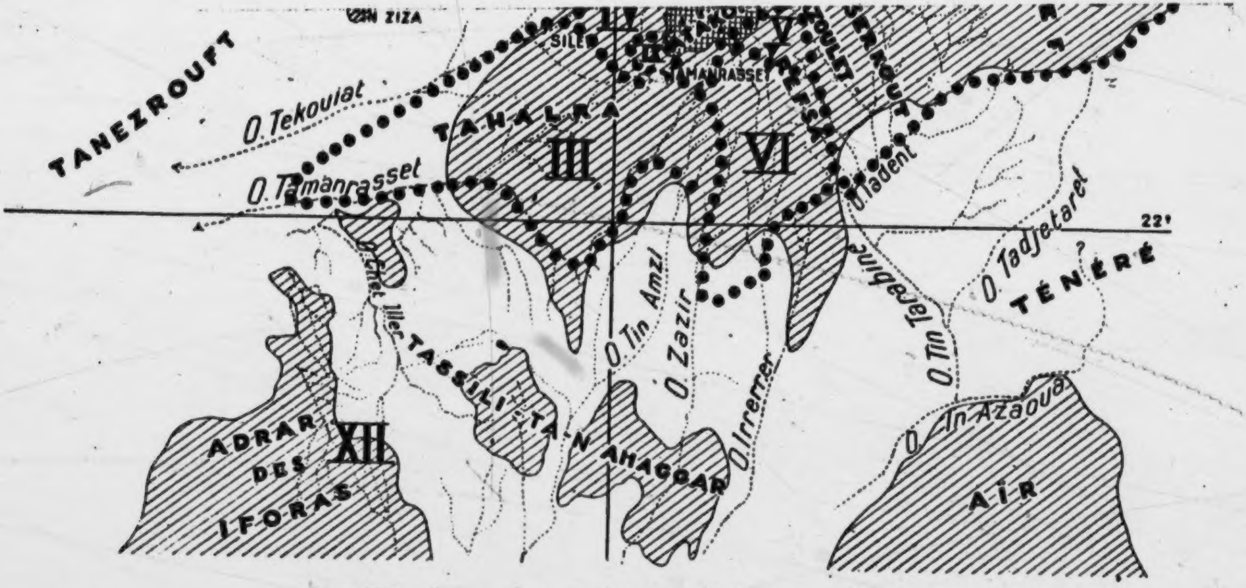
IN ZIZA
TANEZROUFT
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TÉNÉRÉ
O. Tin Tarabine
O. Tin Amzi
O. Zazir
O. Irrerrer
Iller
TASSILI TAN AHAGGAR
ADRAR DES IFORAS
XII
In Azaoua
AÏR

Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

I. Issekkemâren.
S. f. Kel In-Rhar'
Kel Amgid
Kel Tãfedest
Kel Immîdir

Ihéiaoueâ-Hâda
Isselamaten
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Terourirt
II. Tãitok et Kel Ahnet

III. Ikechchemâden
Iklân-en-Tâoussit
Tégéhé-n-Efis
IV. Dâg-Râli
Ibettenâten
Irréguénaten
V. Kel Tazoûlet
VI. Agouh-en Tehlé

VII. Ait Loaien
VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet
IX. Ikâdeien
X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Aménokal.
XI. Ajjer Tuareg
XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibettenâten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet.

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

1: Lhote--41b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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173 Ag Mama ag Sidi was the brother of Younès ag Sidi and the second son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. Like his brother he married a Tăïtok woman, who bore him a son, Mohamed, who also later became amrar of the Tăïtok. Ag Mama reached the age of 100 before he died.

175 El Hadj Ahmed ag el Hadj Bekri was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through the latter's daughter, Zahra, who was married to El Hadj Bekri from the Ifôra tribe. He was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, being the son of his eldest sister. He had to fight against the Tăïtok, because one of them, Mohamed ag Mama, the son of the preceding aménokal, wanted to succeed him.

During his reign a long war broke out with the Ăjjer, when the Ihăggaren wholeheartedly supported the descendants of the Sultan Imânen. He was killed during this fight.

/187/ Aïtarel ag Mohamed Biska was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through his third daughter Ăménéna, married to Mohamed Biska of the Tégéhé-Mellet tribe.

In relation to the preceding aménokal, he was his first cousin, the eldest son of his father's sister. He led a very eventful life. He had to fight the Ăjjer over whom he won a great vitory at Edjmidhan, and he was subjected to Tăïtok attacks. Under his aménokalat the Flatters mission was massacred, and he was largely responsible for it.

He died in 1900, leaving a daughter who married Ămayas ag Khelbi, by whom she had a son, Meslah, now aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Ăttici ag Ămellal was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, as the eldest son of his second sister. He was named at the same time as his cousin Mohamed ag Ourzig, the eldest son of the eldest daughter of Ăïtarel; the tobol ordinarily would have gone to the latter, but he was old and tired and could not assert his rights. This was a long period of anarchy, for which the Imrad had to bear the consequences, and which ended with the French occupation and the nomination of Moussa ag Ămâstan.

175 Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, Ǎttici's cousin and great-grandson of Sidi Mohamed el Kheir by the latter's last daughter, Tar'aoussist, and by his grandmother Tiguent, was born about 1865 of a Kel Rela mother and an Ikerremoïen father. The latter, very acute in nature, had advised against the massacre of the Flatters mission, although it has been asserted that he participated in it.

Moussa was still young when his father died, and his uncle Ǎmdor brought him up. Ǎmdor lived with the Ifôra from the Adrar, and it is there that Moussa made the acquaintance of a very famous Kounta marabout, who had established his religious center at Teleya and must have had great influence on Moussa.

Later he always lived north of the Adrar, which permitted him to make raids among the Ioullimmiden, the Ifôra, the Idnân, the Kounta, and the Bérabiches, who finally paid him dues to secure peace. But Moussa ag Ǎmâstan never raided the poor or the weak, making himself their protector instead.

[578] When the Tǎïtok were raided by the Kel Tǎdelé (from the Aïr) they accused Moussa of it; the animosity which still prevails between them dates from that day. Since his brother had been killed by the Ioullimmiden, he organized a raid composed of Kel Tǎdelé, /188/ Tǎitok, and Ifôra. En route, however, the Tǎitok pillaged the herds of the Kel Tǎdelé. Moussa was deeply angered by this conduct and did not hesitate to attack the Tǎitok to punish them and take back their loot. The Ihǎggaren became indignant at this gesture and demanded that Moussa return the raided animals to the Tǎitok. He refused and withdrew to the home of the Ioullimmiden aménokal, Firhoun, where he worked to re-establish peace between his hosts and the Ihǎggaren. He did the same with the Kel Aïr, which made it possible for the Issekkemâren and the Imrad to go to the Sudan on business, and did much to establish his fame.

Leaving the Sudanese camps, he then approached the Ahaggar and followed events closely.

It seems that Ăitarel had designated him as his successor, but he refused the job in view of the anarchy which reigned in the Ahaggar and did not oppose Ăttici, who was elected by the party hostile to peace with the French.

Events moved very rapidly; in 1903 he talked with Kaid Bilou of In-Salah, one of our trusted men, about the surrender of the Ihăggaren. Then he went to Ghat to visit the chief of that region, In Gueddassen, in order to invite him to come to In-Salah with him. When In Gueddassen refused, he went directly to In-Salah to discuss the surrender of the Ahaggar people.

The history of his life after that is the history of the French penetration.

Moussa married late and lived until 1910 in concubinage with a captive who bore him a daughter. Then he married the daughter of Ibedi ag Bassi, Tihit, from the Tăitok tribe, who gave him a second daughter. After that he left for France on the invitation of General Laperrine.

The following year, as a reward for services rendered, he was made an officer of the Legion of Honor.

Through his efforts, thus recompensed by the French, Moussa ag Ămâstan saw his people rally completely, but he was not to enjoy his triumph for long. He died rather mysteriously on December 30, 1920.

Sickly by nature -- syphilitic, it is said, and asthmatic -- he was taken one day by sickness which he attributed to the aftereffects of a serious chest wound received at the time of a fall from a horse. He had to take to his bed the sixth day, but he seemed to be getting better when, during the night, he asked to make his prayer. At that time, he was camped /189/ near Tamanrasset and had the resident officer informed. When the latter arrived to visit him, however, Moussa had just died, not without having first advised the chiefs in attendance to always follow the French.

The members of his family were overwhelmed by such a sudden death, and one Ăjjer man who had arrived in camp within the

175 previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the *zâwiyah* /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a *mḳaddam* delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ǎmastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the *djemaa* met and named as a replacement [643 648] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ǎkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[648] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ǎkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Ămayas is a second cousin of Ăkhamouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former Aménokal Ăïtarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Ăttici ag Ămellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Ămennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier, This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Ămâstan's sister, Rakhma, who married Ănaba ag Ămellal, brother of Aménokal Ăttici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 The aménokal levies the *tioussé* on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. *droits de redevance*/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dăg Râli pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tăhat, and the Aït Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Aït Loaïen.

[178 161] But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since
[643] only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them,
[582] abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 643 578 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of a constant struggle against the Tăîtok. The latter, belligerent and jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two tribes, the Dăg Râli and the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemâren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddîn.

[651] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

[643] The Dăg Rali. -- The Dăg Râli form the principal fraction of the Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ăhnet, they originally formed the Imessîlîten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Tăîtok tobol, the Imessîlîten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dăg Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tăhat, 2) Kel Tămanrasset, 3) Kel Tămanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhâfok, 5) Kel Ărechchoum. To the Dăg Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dǎg Rali would have found in Ǎtakor when they came to settle there.

[161] [177] [511] After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dǎg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1,090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 651 The Dǎg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 233 556 439 The Dǎg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They own more than 1,200 goats and more than 1,000 camels. Thanks to their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 241 423 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abǎlessa, Iglen, Tǎfârit, I-n-Ǎmegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tǎitok.

Plate IX

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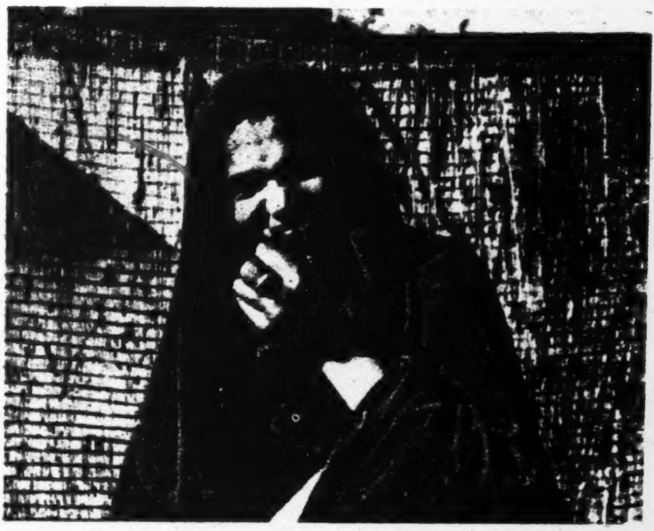

Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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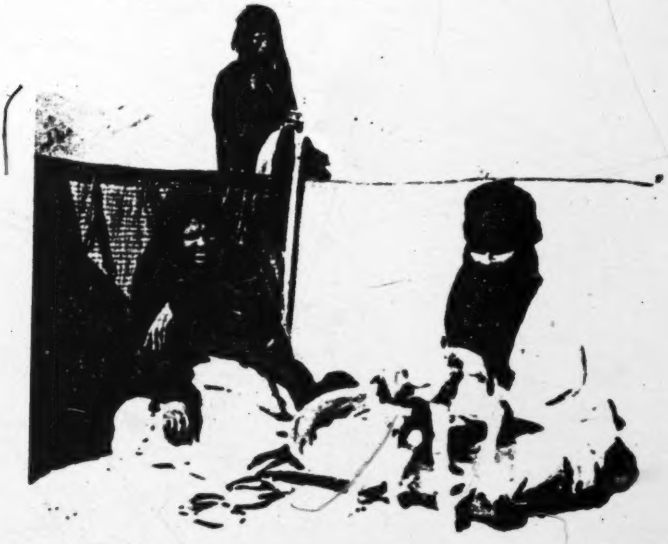

Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

Plate X

342

Tent belonging to the aménokal of the Kel Ahaggar. It has eight poles inside, and the awning is made of 60 skins sewn together. The separate poles in the foreground are used to hold up the asaber in the evening.

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The tent is always set up by the women, mainly by servants. They make holes in the ground to put the pole in, then pile sand around it. When the pole is in place, the skin is attached by a thong.

631 The Dǎg Râli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The
781 majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although
[794] some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the
Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however,
for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious
orders.

The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective
797 in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later
at his hermitage at Ăsekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant
contact with the Dǎg Râli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but
they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first
beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring
for the sick and rendering them many services.

Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of
[622] average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a
question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/
He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together.
Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his
affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort
Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won
over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which
made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar.
631 During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please
797 us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine:
"Ouksem, chief of the Dǎg Râli, could not be better; he does not
[648] cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being
faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his
attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and
he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilâman wadi in
[177] order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This
garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which
was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit,
a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

622 631 747 time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de Foucauld was gone.

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible aménokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dǎg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

631 The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dǎg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Tǎîtok, but they remained with the Dǎg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kel Rela.

173 631 The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé. -- The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé form the most important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dǎg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in Aïr and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the aménokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Kheir.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihǎggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in Aïr and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

173 Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ěfis, went to the Taïtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dǎg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dǎg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dǎg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648 about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they
rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/
669] belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
[241] and they have gardens at Ǎmsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to
427 be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen
[195] by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, because they made difficulties in paying the *tiouseé*.

631 They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tărhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tăhifet.

631 The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb
173 *élouai*, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)
[192]

1. According to Benhazéra, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dăg Râli and the Kel Ăhnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dăg Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 The Aït Loaien pay the *tioussé* to the family of the Téjéhé-n-ăgg-
[651] Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dăg Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ǎrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ǎnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241 423] The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 [181] The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglân.

[177 233] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1,500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Târabine, Aïtoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[649] During the revolt, they left the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddîn pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddîn must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin. [674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The [423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and [212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenatên. -- The Ibettenatên are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazéra, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the [651] aménokal.

The Ibettenâten probably descended from Kel Ăfella Ifôra on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 162 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Ădrar des Ifôras, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadéï camp in Aïr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 233 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 [669] They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaîa.

565 644 631 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tǎousit, still called Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

[184] [241] Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 [162] They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tǎhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ǎbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

[241 423] Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers of Tîgeneouin, Ǎbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

563 631 The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tǎfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tǎzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

563 631 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten, but are incorporated.

563 173 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ǎdrar des Ifôras and in the region of Gao by El Bekrî. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

[797] 197 [648] Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 563 631 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were bestowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Taïzoûlet, the Kel Tǎfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 439 484 233 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their camel raising is particularly renowned.

563 [173] The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ǎda.

[221] They nomadize in the Tǎfedest massif near Ǎdenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaîa well.

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1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

963
[162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout,
[423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the
[795 798] sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

[173] /200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head.
[241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hăda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

[162] The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ǎseksem,
[233] Ǎmegid, and the Ǎdrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30
camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in
1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tǎfedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

The Kel Tǎfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates
[651] and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are
still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as
the Ihéiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include
about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf
and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and
In Eker.

[233 They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats.
469] Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves
out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

/201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They
[162] are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and
nomadize near Aneserfa, Ǎrak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dǎg el Mesk camp in
[162 the Tǎzoûlet region and near Tǎzerouk. They number about 225
233] people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness
[132] of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the
Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at
423] Tǎzerouk.

[661] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter
in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the
Ilaman wadi.

[795 They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four
788] or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihâggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tămasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[281 462] Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[603] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

Tobol of the Tǎitok

631 565 The Tǎitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

[602] They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin, Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tǎitok.

[173] According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin as the Imenân sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

114 631 565 The Tǎitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity with the Ihǎggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ǎjjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

579 631 643 [181] 175 They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela and the suzerainty of the aménokal of the Ahaggar. After the division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the aménokalat, which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tǎitok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

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1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest /The Western Tuareg/, p. 18 (Algiers, 1888).

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tǎitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tǎitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time,
but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time
later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Aménokal Ǎitarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tǎitok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradji, was the nephew of Ǎitarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tǎitok tobol from his mother. Ǎitarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tǎitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ǎitarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tǎitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn, Imrad of the Tǎitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Oûraren, a noble Ǎjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Tǎitok, the typical desert looter, with
cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of
the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber
blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and
traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tǎitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kéradji was kept as aménokal.

175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[21]

175 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of
631 the men, including Aziouel, died of thirst in the desert.
643 /204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old,
was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tǎitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the
Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to
some 40 men.

579 At the present time, the Tǎitok still accept unwillingly the
631 suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under
which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones,
still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken
refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and
[648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the
Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel
Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] Poor like all the Imochar, the Tǎitok live at the expense of
631 their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the
651 nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the
Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ǎdrar des Ifôras, the Tégéhé-n-Ěfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400
233] camels and about 1, 000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at
175 first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave
631 us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his
648 Imrad Kel I-n-Tôunîn. But it must be said in his behalf that he did
not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before
Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command,
and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tǎitok possessed the palm grove of
[423] Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to
punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

631 The amrar of the Tǎitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Tǎitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ǎhnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

631 565 [582] The Tǎitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the vassals, proud of being called Tǎitok, espouse all the rivalries of their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 648 [101] Thieves to end all thieves, the Tǎitok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Ǎkabli who sometimes nomadized in the Ǎdrar Ǎhnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrǎr, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

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1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 [648] alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tǎitok raids.

The tobol of the Tǎitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ǎhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Ěfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ǎhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tǎitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Aziouel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tǎitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ǎhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab [643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ǎhnet. -- The Kel Ǎhnet are of the same origin as the [173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ǎhnet were bestowed upon the Tǎitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 Taken away from the Tăitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ădrar Ăhnet, the Ăseg'rad, and part of the Immîdir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemâren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immîdir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ăsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tama'la. They camp near the Tăitok in the Ădrar Tazerza't, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 [162] In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Tăitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ăhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ăjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ădrar and at Ăkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. [669] At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

173 631 Let us add that the Kel Ǎhnet claim to be of Beraber origin through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tǎitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Ěfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ěfis are of the same origin as the Tégéhé-n-Efîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Efîmen came to ask protection from the Ihǎggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tǎitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ěfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

[162] [233] [241] 423 In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250 goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin, Amsel, Ǎbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tǎitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

[173] The Kel I-n-Tounîn. -- The Kel I-n-Tounîn are Issekkemâren. They were given to the Tǎitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Térourirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

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Plate XI

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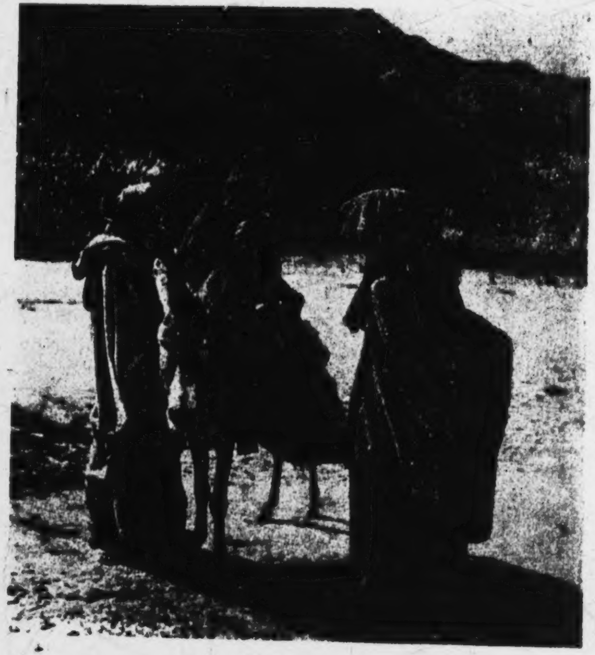
The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.



Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

1: Lhote--66a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed./ are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

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224
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Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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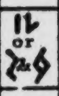
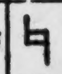
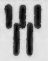
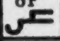
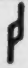
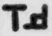
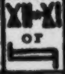
KEL RELA	7 or ═	on the right cheek. on the right front.	KEL I-N-TOÛNÎNE	//	on the neck.
DÂG RALI	|	crossing the neck, at the right.	TÂITOK	UI or >	at the right front. on the cheek.
ÂJOUH-EN-TÊHLÉ		on the right front. on the neck, to the right.	KEL ÂHNET		on the neck, to the right.
IKLÂN-EN-TÂOUSIT		at the top of the right thigh.	TÉGÉHÉ-N-ÉFIS	═	on the right cheek.
KEL TÂZOÛLET	+	on the neck, to the right.	IROUÂROUAREN		on the right cheek.
KEL IN RHAR'	Λ	on the right thigh.	IKOUTTISEN	// or 	on the neck.
RELAÏDIN	IV	on the neck.	TÉGÉHÉ MELLET	‿	on the right cheek.
IHEAOUEN HADA	+|	on the right thigh.	IRECHCHOÛMEN		
KEL IMMÎDIR	±	on the right thigh.	KEL OHET	//	on the right thigh.
KEL TÂFEDEST	—	on the right thigh.	IKERREMOIEN	|—	
KEL AMGUID	λ	on the right thigh.	INEMBA		
ÂIT LOAJEN	═ or ⊤	on the right cheek.	TÉGÉHÉ-N-AG-ALI	‿	
IRRÉGUÉNATEN		on the neck, to the right. on the right cheek.	TÉGÉHÉ-N-OU-SIDI		
KEL TEROÛRIRT	═	on the neck.	IBOGLÂN	|—	
IBETTENÂTEN	±	on the right cheek.			

Table of the brands applied to camels in the different Ahaggar tribes.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[669] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrăr Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

[233 439] Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 631 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631 [173] 1. Benhazéra, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar,* p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dǎg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ǎmastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The *tioussé* paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [651] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dǎg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek *akechchemdh*, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ǎmastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dǎg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dǎg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ǎjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeien form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Ǎdrâr des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imraḍ of the Tǎitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

631 According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hînân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Toûnîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tǎitok while Sidi Mohâmed was aménokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 [578] According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihǎggaren and the Ǎjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Ǎmastân.

648 Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

619 Kel-I-n-Tounîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Ămastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Aménokal Attici ag Ămellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ăjjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Ămegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Ănaba ag Ămellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemârén fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Tounîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the
[162] Kel Raris, the Dăg-Khamaya, and the Dăg Iknân. In all there are about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tăfedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] [439] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ăjjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dăg Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although
[651] they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol, they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

631 793 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihăggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/ repute. 778 788 All the Tuareg, Ihăggaren or Ăjjer, who pass near this place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Ihăggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ăjjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ăjjer than of the Ihăggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkûren
Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad
Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Oûraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 533 631 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the aménokal," just as Iklăn-en-Tăousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

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1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

114 533 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."

631 At the present time these three fractions number about 150 people.

[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 [511] [312] A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 [182] The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

579 In addition, they robbed
caravans who happened into
their country, hatefully ransoming
721 the voyagers. Sometimes they
727 went to empty the granaries of
the sedentary people of the oases
or the Sudanese villages, captur-
492 ing Negroes and Negresses to
sell as slaves.

439 When peace reigned in
their country, they willingly
organized /218/ caravans to
go to the Tidikelt or Touat
oases and bring back dates, or
else to the Sudan to get supplies
of millet. They also made them-
selves the protectors of caravans
486 crossing their country, naturally
making the caravaneer pay a
consistently high duty in mer-
chandise.

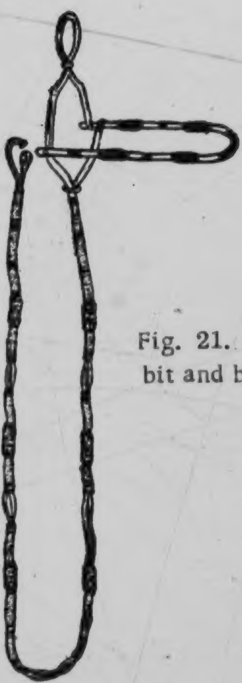

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

135 The Ahaggar has famous
182 salt mines in the region called
Ămadror which lies to the east of
439 the Tăfedest massif in a large
depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihăggaren,
but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and
circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous
721 herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks
and raids. That is why the Ămadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

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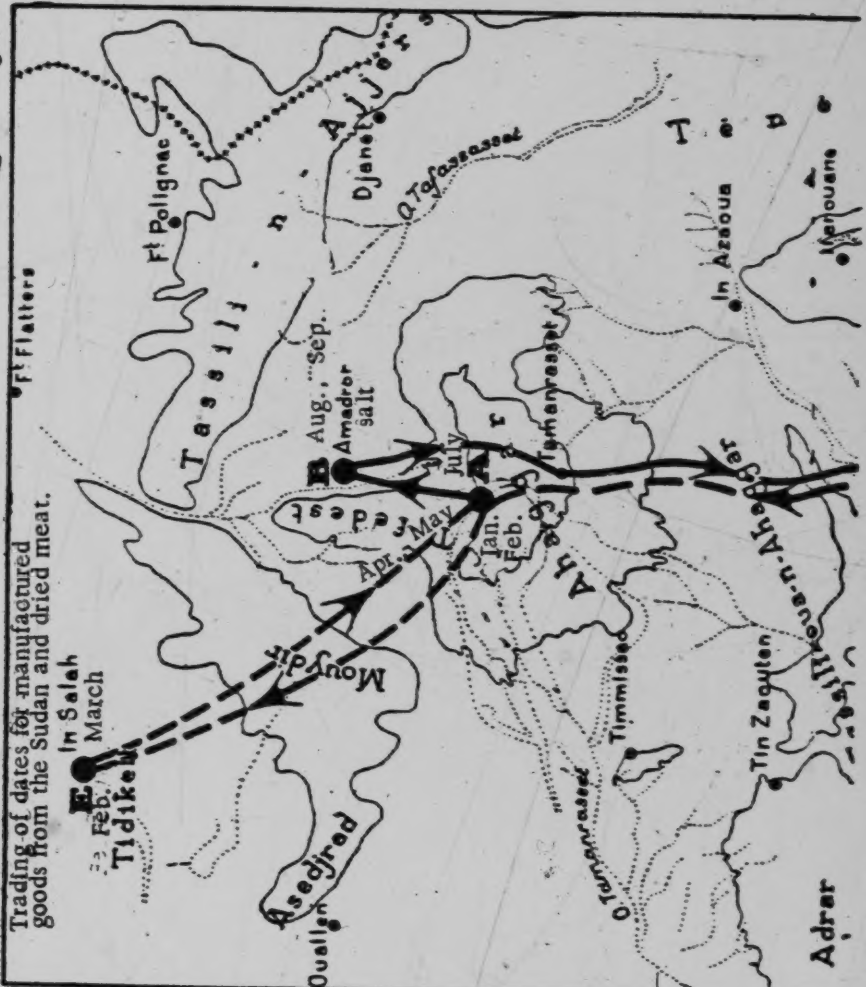
Trading of dates for manufactured goods from the Sudan and dried meat.
Ft Flatters
Ft Polignac
Tassili n Ajjer
Djanet
O. Tafassasset
Ténéré
In Salah
March
E
Feb.
Tidikelt
Mouydir
Apr. - May
Asedjrad
Ouallen
B
Aug., Sep.
Amadror salt
Iedest
July
A
Jan. Feb.
Ahaggar
Tamanrasset
O. Tamanrasset
Timmissao
In Azaoua
Iferouane
Tin Zaouten
Tassili-oua-n-Ahaggar
Adrar

Map V. Diagram of the caravan cycle of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

A. Center of transhumance and point of departure of the caravan cycle. B. Center of salt extraction. C. Region of stocking of salt and of temporary nomadization. D^1 D^2 D^3. Center of trade of salt for grain.

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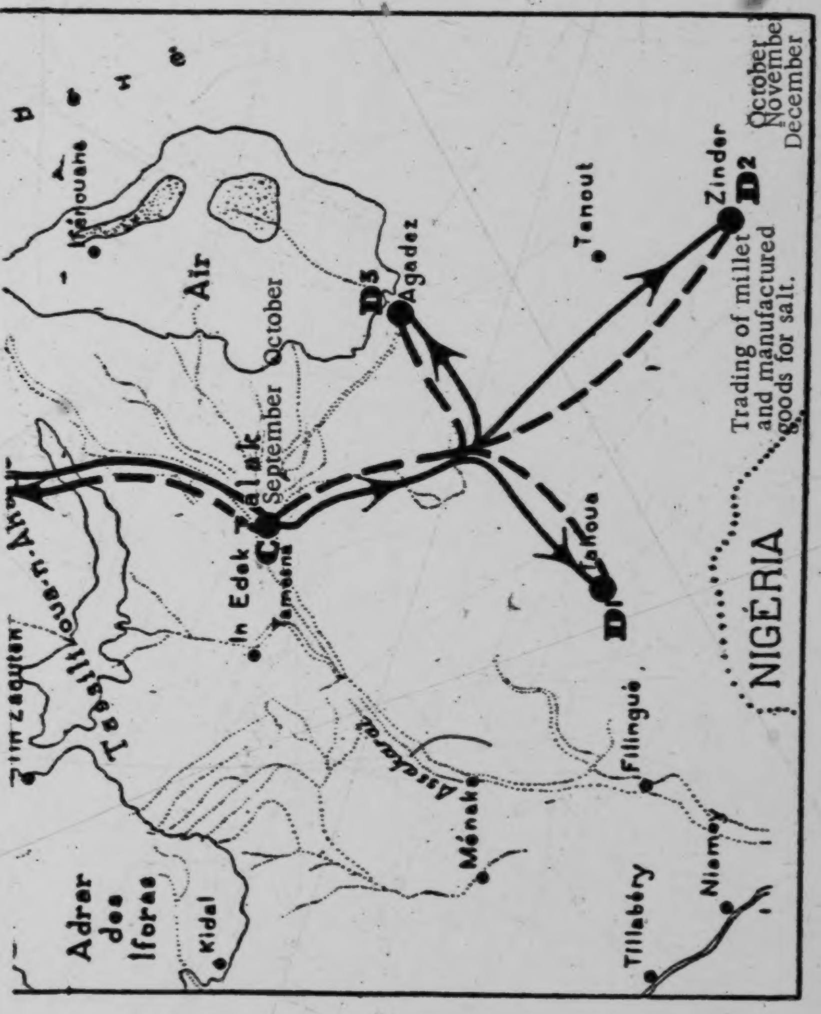
Adrar des Iforas
Kidal
Tin Zaouten
Tassilt-oua-n-Ahaggar
In Edek
Talak
C
September
October
Tamesna
Aïr
Iférouane
Agadez
D3
Tahoua
D1
Zinder
D2
Tanout
Ménaka
Assakarai
Filingué
Tillabéry
Niamey
NIGÉRIA

Trading of millet and manufactured goods for salt.

October
November
December

E. Center of trade of manufactured goods and dried meat for dates after return from A.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the [492] salt which abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

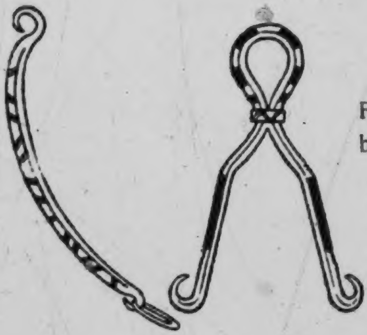

Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one [415] need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

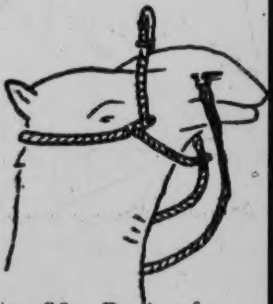

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 48 Toward mid-September, all the caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

season which generally ends with the month of September. 439 When the caravaneers arrive earlier, they wait in the Tǎmasna 484 region and protect their salt by hiding it in the crags of the rocks.

At any rate they always stay at least two months in that region so that their camels may regain their strength. Then, they go in small groups toward the Damergou where they know people in some villages with whom they exchange their salt for millet. These exchanges are made on variable bases, depending on whether or not the millet harvest has been abundant, or whether the salt has arrived in greater or lesser quantity. Most generally they are made on the basis of one load of salt for three loads of millet, but sometimes in the proportion of one load of salt for ten loads of millet, which is much to the advantage of the Ihǎggaren.

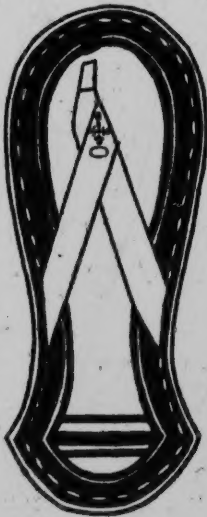

Fig. 24. Irratimen sandal of Hausa make, such as the Ihǎggaren wear.

[291]
[177]

[435]

Since they do not have enough camels to carry all this grain back, and since they do not need that much grain in the Ahaggar, they sell or exchange a good part of it for manufactured objects, which are easy to transport and /220/ easy to dispose of -- sandals, saddle bags, camel saddles, leather boxes, 437 484 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could [461] allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 221 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

Chapter 2

Dwellings

361 621 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihǎggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character
may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or
scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take
precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the aménokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the
same time. Indeed, the aménokal supports a numerous family, his
caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite
artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them
but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often
312 five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink
every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
[482 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs
492] or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

361 609 [721] When a state of war existed, concealment was a capital necessity easy to understand. By atavism, it seems that they have taken the habit of always placing themselves in spots where they escape the investigation of indiscreet glances.

361 [132] They set up their tents on valley terraces, and sometimes in a valley itself, if they do not have to fear the rains, which usually fall at the end of the summer.

221 361 Because of the need to seek out pastures, camps are continually being moved. They stay from one to two weeks, depending on whether the grass has been revived by rains or whether it is dry. But these moves are never of any great distance, not exceeding seven or eight kilometers. If we take as an example the Dǎg Râli tribe which nomadizes in the western part of Koudia, we find the camps set up in the high mountain valleys, as high as 2, 400 meters altitude, in summer. In winter, on the other hand, they settle on the slopes or in the low parts, seeking places sheltered from the wind. This, of course, is in a normal period of average pasture. But during the summer of 1940, following a long dry period, the Upper Koudia saw a great number of its watering places dry up, and vegetation was nonexistent, so to speak. Therefore, all the nomads took refuge in the low parts of the massif, in the Outoul, Eferer, and I-n-Amegel valleys where water was more abundant and where a trace of pasture still remained. At the beginning of September, the whole massif benefited from abundant rains. A week later, all the tents moved into the mountains in order to use the alpine pastures before winter and to save the lower valley grass for winter.

312 /223/ The watering places of Ătakor are chiefly natural reservoirs (*aguelmam*) and springs flowing at ground level in the hollows of the valleys. In the middle part, there are mainly *rédir* (*abankor*), or little wells, dug less than one meter down in the soil to reach the water layer, which is often retained by rocky sills. These *rédir* are exhausted in time if rains do not come to renew the water accumulated in the sandy wadi bed. The lower part of the Ahaggar benefits from all the water trickling down from the high mountains

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

[281] The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow-[184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious 322 enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture, [531] pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dǎg Râli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Ǎgouh-en-Těhlé. It appears that the Kel Ǎhnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a ..

342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

[171] This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioullimmiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

[182 132] The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If that was its raison d'être, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

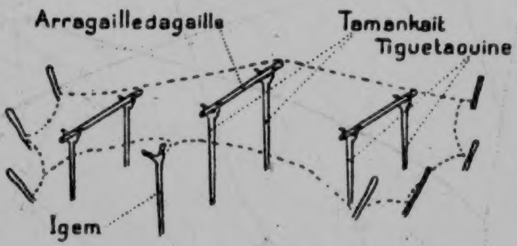

Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

[285] In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable closing made of a long mat (asâber) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

592 [422] The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of.

342 In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. [184]

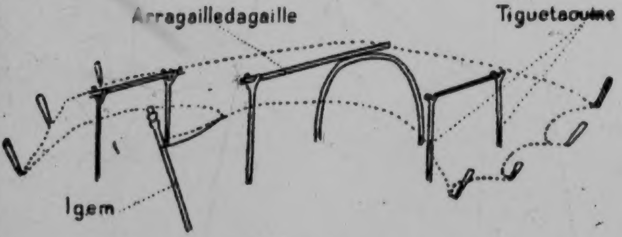

Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

251 343 Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily.

251 343 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

184 343 423 251 Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family group. Thus the Dăg Râli have stores in the Koudia, at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Ăbalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloûmet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 643 251 The Akhamouk aménokal was the only person who had real granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Ăbalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 562 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

513 [352 177 643] No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/ of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

854 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and [272] bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 354 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

372 773 We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God, who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

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1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for
metalworking.

The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
372 torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught
[824] the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew
on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They
have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

Today they find matches sold by /228 [illegible]manrasset merchants,
[439 but they all have tinderboxes
177] with flint and a bent piece
of iron.

They do not keep up the
[415 fire. They carry it from
439] one tent to the other in a
fragment of an old gourd or
sometimes hold a glowing
ember in their hands without burning themselves.
[237] When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use
camel-dung embers.

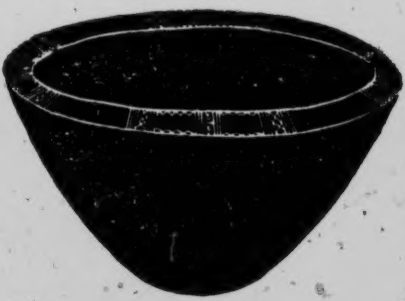

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

The Tuareg commonly
[237] use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia
old acacia or ethel /atle? Ed./ stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes
muffled noises when it is burned.

Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they be-
[823] lieve that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently
when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing
the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these
must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

352

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuâreg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well. [415 271]

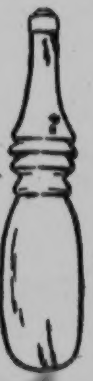

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

[412]

[574]

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous 412
wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes 415
millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter [359]
used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent [252]
are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or [285]
two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 000

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/

Chapter 3

Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, *béchena* (*Sorghum cernuum Host.*), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

243 262 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

[412] *Béchena* is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

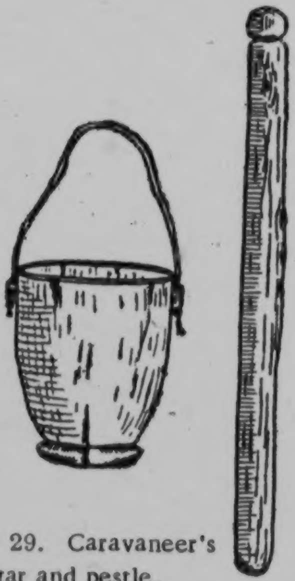

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

177 241 By its agriculture and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (*daba*), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 262 *Béchena* is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or mixed with liquids, water or milk.

[433 484 592] Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

262 433 439 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in consideration insofar as consumption is concerned, since it is almost entirely destined for export. [237 415 234] It follows from this that import needs amount to 4, 000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

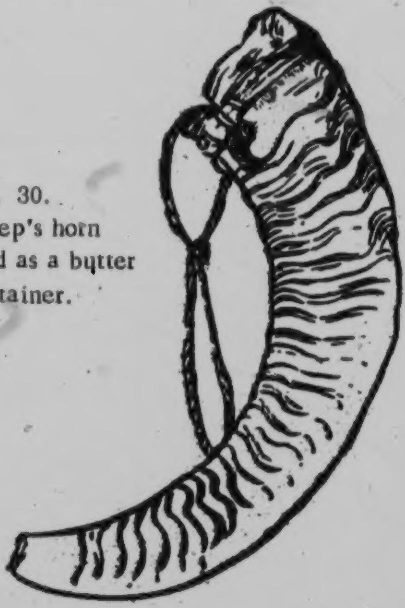

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

146 262 511 From these figures it follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of millet and one-tenth of a load of dates.

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

824
222

To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds [262] of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say [237 that most of the time it is 281 quite /233/ uncertain. 415] This is not the case in the 234] Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of [231] famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. [262] However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

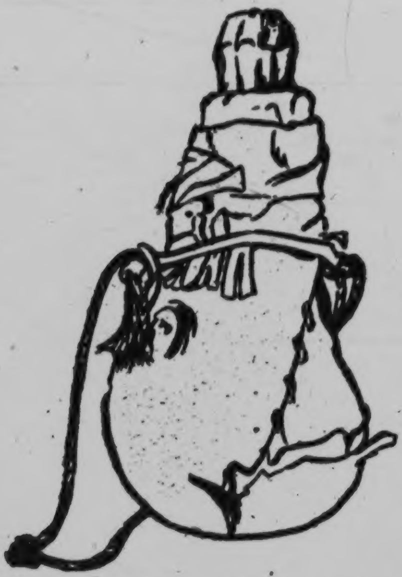
Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, 272 goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young [264] mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

[264]
272 evening after the milking, and at the noon meal they drink milk which has already soured. It may accompany the dishes /234/ of
[262] bechena, serve as a sauce, and also be taken as a drink. When they make long moves, the Tuareg carry a bag full of skim milk on their camels. This turns rapidly and gives a sour-tasting whey which is very refreshing. But milk is particularly appreciated for its by-products, butter and cheese.

Butter --
234 oudi -- is obtained by churning milk in a
[415
237] little leather bag; a woman shakes it on her knees, making it swing from right to left and from left to right. The butter col-
[237
415] lected is placed inside a sheep's horn which serves as a receptacle. When butter production exceeds daily consumption, the butter is placed in leather containers, in the shape of a flask, where the heat usually keeps it liquid or very fluid, except in winter when it is necessary to heat it to get it out of the container.

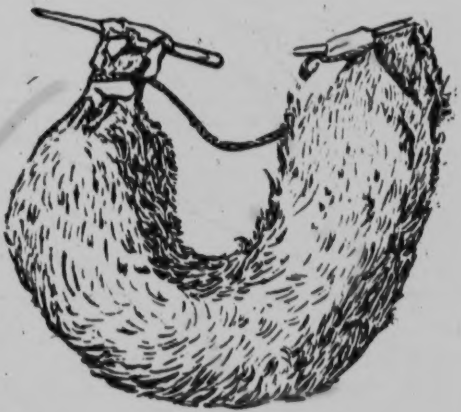

Fig. 32. Butter container made from the skin of a camel's neck.

Butter is mainly eaten as a sauce; bechena gruel or wheat
262 cakes are moistened with it. The Tuareg never cook it, as in fried foods.

In years when pasturage is particularly good, which assures an
234 abundance of milk from the animals, the Tuareg make cheese -- tikomaren. They sour the milk, squeeze the curds in little mats

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihăggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihăggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in *béchena* gruel or in a drink of *béchena* flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part [251] of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

They capture star lizards (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), jerboas, 222 *gondi* (*Ctenodactylus sp.*), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (*Shistocerca gregaria*), [224] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [252] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared
them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets
of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemaren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they
gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how
to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same
interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception
is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have
the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into
their diet: the young growths of *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), the
[824] leaves of the *tanekfit* (*Eruca aurea*) and the *aramas* (*Atriplex halimus*),
the underground stems of the *danoun* (*Cistanche lutea*) which resembles
asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value,
which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones,
grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[579] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is
at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe,
and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one
thing -- survival by any means.

264 Before the French occupation the Tuareg as a general rule had only one meal a day, in the evening, after milking the animals. During the day they contented themselves with drinking a little milk.

251 262 The national dish of the Tuareg is asink, which is a porridge of millet cooked in water and moistened with butter or whey. This meal is especially popular in winter and during the entire cold season. During the very hot months, they prefer a beverage of water or whey in which they throw millet flour, diluted sometimes with dry cheese or powdered dates. This is alakoh. Dates are also eaten /237/ in summer, ground and mixed with water or milk.

252 When the Tuareg kill a sheep, they prepare the intestines which they enclose inside the stomach. After having tied the two extremities of the stomach, they put it on a bed of ashes to cook. This way of cooking, which is the one most commonly used by hunters, is called abatoul. Meats are prepared boiled or cooked under the ashes. Those that are boiled are particularly the ones which were previously dried (wild sheep, gazelle, sometimes sheep). In this case, they are first crushed between two stones, for they are as hard as wood; the meat is then spread in pieces on a dish of asink.

The Tuareg do not prepare roast meat over embers, but they place it under the ashes. When they want to cook a whole sheep, they open it in two and then put it under the ashes, taking care to turn it once during the roasting.

251 262 For great occasions -- religious festivals, marriages, or receptions for prominent guests -- the Tuareg butcher young camels. They serve them with a couscous of coarse-grained wheat.

The domestic animals slaughtered are goats, sheep, camels, and cattle when there are any. They do not eat horses, asses, or dogs.

722 Cooking is done by the captives, close by the masters' tents.

264 Men take their meals by themselves and receive the food first. Women and children eat in their turn,, and the Iklan receive the rest.

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
[182 do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea
in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed
plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in par-
[757 ticular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
178] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach
aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics,
we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or
take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply
in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved
to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay
pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when
smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl
which covers the face." (1)

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1. *Voyage en Afrique,*
vol. IV, p. 137.

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

[439] Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harīm. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/

Chapter 4

Hunting and Fishing

000 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
136 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the
174 Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few
[463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a
large proportion of Iklan who seem to have more aptitude and more
[567] taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic
character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the
original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis
of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are
very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the
Issekkemâren and the Dǎg Râli.

Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep
224 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same
231 time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who
stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and
the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly
suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in
224 discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs
on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at
a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the
dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the
man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which
does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is
[411] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries
to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a
question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can
catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful
jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihǎggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

The radial-point trap is the one described by Montandon (1) [M] and was already known by the Egyptians. It is spread over all of central and intertropical Africa. It is composed of a disk made of vegetable matter to which are attached the stems of rather resistant graminaceae which converge toward the center. The apparatus is placed on a little pit with a diameter a little less than its own, then covered over with straw /242/ and sand. It is arranged under trees whose leaves are still green and which the gazelles come to browse on. While going around the tree, the beasts finally step on it, and the hoof which passes through the stems is caught in the disk. In spite of all efforts and movements, the disk remains attached, thus preventing the animal from getting away. The hunter then steps in. He gets on the animal's trail, follows it, and finally catches up with it. He kills it with a thrust of his lance. Sometimes a lasso is placed on the disk with its end attached to the trunk of the tree or to an old stump.

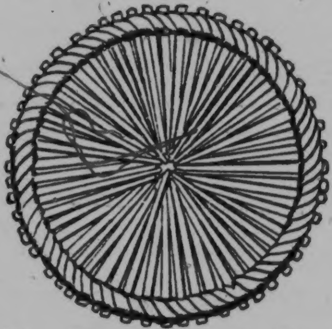

Fig. 33. Trap with radial points used to capture gazelles.

The torsion trap in the shape of an arch is a more complicated system. It is composed of a fragment of oryx antelope horn on [382] which is set a layer of tendons coming from the same animal and

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1. *Traité d'ethnologie culturelle* /A Dissertation on Cultural Ethnology/, p. 222, fig. 8.

224 [237] which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

[177] 329 More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make. They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 423 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 411 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game,. so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these [411 648] weapons.

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

226 [184] Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/

Chapter 5

Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

177 241 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the influence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they
could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment
of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the aménokal, but he leases it
[427 out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden.
651] The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed
Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

241 Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called
427 harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between
them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor
furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara.
Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping
it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-
fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own
account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of
vegetables.

[311] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241] /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in
common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis,
which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the
geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water
collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir
are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying
from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope,
and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or
to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

312 include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

311 361 342 These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

245 Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ǎbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tǎzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

104 The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests a year. 132 2[illegible]

24[illegible] In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. -In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

241 turnips, onions, garlic, pimento, beans, pumpkins, native melons,
watermelons, various gourds of local origin, and sometimes lentils.
422 These vegetables belong properly to the cultivator and not to the
262 proprietor of the garden. They are consumed by him, for the Tuareg
generally disdain them and eat them only when they are staying in
the agricultural centers.

But these centers may be handicapped by numerous climatic
132 factors.
241
Rains are obviously beneficial when they come at the right
312 time; unfortunately, they most often fall in winter or in summer, seasons which do not correspond to the largest growth of vegetation. The plants benefit from them only when the rains are very abundant and the ground can store up water for several months. But still, rainfall must not be too strong, or else it can cause the wadies to overflow and immediately destroy the feggaguir. It then requires several months to reconstruct them and in the meantime the crops which cannot be irrigated dry up on the spot and are completely lost.

Cold can also have a disastrous effect. Winter wheat does not
132
suffer from it but its development is slowed up. It is much worse
241
for arboriculture, for if it is late and comes after the trees have blossomed, which sometimes occurs in January, it is likely to stop pollination completely. Fortunately, trees in arboricultural centers like Tăzerouk bloom much later and there are only sudden frosts to fear.

/247/ The wind which blows violently in the spring may also hinder arboriculture by knocking down flowers or young fruits, indeed even fruits which are almost ripe. The great hot summer winds endanger the harvest by the intense drying they cause, unless this difficulty is overcome by abundant watering. Now, it is precisely at this time that the flow of the feggaguir decreases as a result of the heating of the soil and the intense evaporation.

It may thus be seen that agriculture in the Ahaggar is subject to many risks and that the harvests may be very variable. The abundance or scarcity of water causes the seeded areas to vary in

132 the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricul-
241 tural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of
[166] Tit, Aïtoklane, Tăhârt, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.
[731] In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

162
241 The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only
[648] to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, accord-
162 ing to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):
103

1. Florimond report, 1938.

	1911	1938	
Tamanrasset	150	686	
Abalessa	272	250	
I-n-Amgel	180	206	
Iglen		168	
Ideles	70	160	
Tazerouk	150	148	
Tit	75	98	had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938.
Tarhaouhaout	140	91	
Amsel	90	66	
Tahifet		39	
/248/ Tigeneouin	25	23	
Mertoûtek		60	
Hirhafok		80	
Ilâman	10		

162
103

	1911	1938
T-i-n-Ǎmenser	36	temporarily abandoned
Tifert	50	" "
Essélésékin	30	
T-i-n-Târâbin	15	abandoned

166 621 [648] These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ǎbalessa, Iglen, Tǎfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241 312] Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80 feggaguir.

262 439 433 The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates. The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one-fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 433 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar: Tâmanrasset, Tǎrhaouahout, Tahifet, Tǎzerouk, Ideles, Ǎbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ǎmenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esselésékine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aǐtoklane, Ǎdenek, Ǎmrah, Ǎbezou, Ǎglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ǎmertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaǐka, T-i-n-Tǎrabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

/249/

Chapter 6

Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a
country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we observe
that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making
their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has
evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the norther-
[184] ern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example
that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg
among the great herders.

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living con-
[167] ditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their
swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the
Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving
and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban
groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy.
With these reservations, however, they have brought with them
some elements of cultural civilization which have played a considerable
role both in the Sahara and the Sudan.

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties imposed on them by caring for the animals.

[184] This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian
regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg.
The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the
Sahara could not support such flocks.

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 The camel. -- We have seen previously what we must think
about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is al-
182 ready of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without
233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply
demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara," (1) has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10,000 head.

132 Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian
pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such
492 that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly
prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting
twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is
361 why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of
the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which
232 are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks
or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese-bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular
breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken
of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the
Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial
transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked
with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck,
cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It
stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa.
Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity
in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with
its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid
rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the
Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today
it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.

262 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able
to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural
to find many of these goats among the Ihǎggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In
the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often
crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very
widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species [172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 233 185 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in parparticular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

[412 326 172]

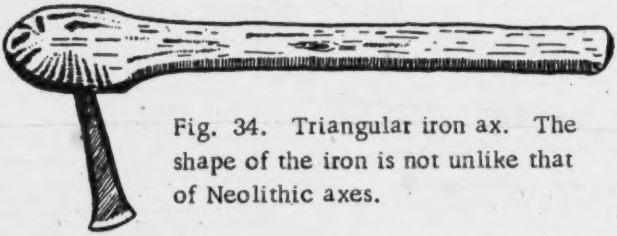


Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

132 233 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Aïr. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which [272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252 262 237] sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihăggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929
there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal.
[643 Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of
644] his family or to the notables of his camp.

[184 This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with
barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves.
262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a
[649] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This
[137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for
lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water.
They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land,
[427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or
else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in
the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for
136 pasture directed its location.

233 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we
361 observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always
stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

233 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
132 plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the aménokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tioussé comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

423 621 311 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 423 621 311 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, including the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 621 685 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/ returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction. But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

[185] A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/ Chapter 7

Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless
and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed
[826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily
ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

For them the main question is protecting the different parts of
751 the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the
body is to that end.

They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily
291 dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue
302 color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become
prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They
rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired
color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their
[171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is
also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth.
They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal
[413] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed
to form a brush. For this purpose they use *irak* branches (*Salvadora*
[824] *persica*) or palm jereed.

/258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring
302 for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft
of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little
halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed
[593] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer
279 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region.
[184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids
may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a
[884] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month. 412 They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they 515 proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids. 751 They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

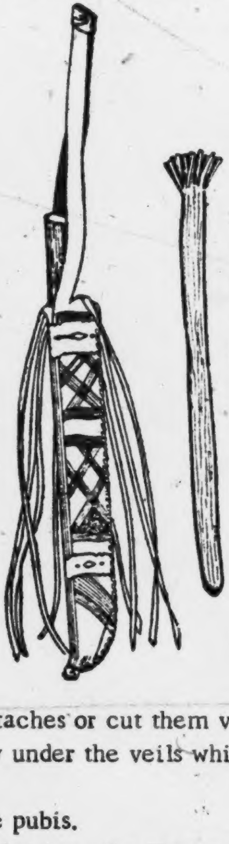


Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

754 After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[826] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412 531] 212 care of them and are satisfied merely to cut their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

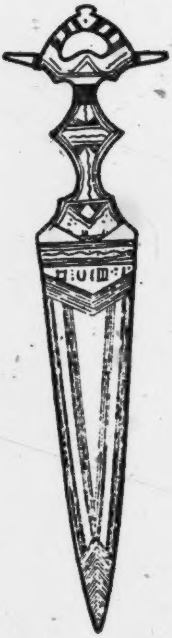


Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their
faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the
[517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic
nature, or so it seems.

All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear
304 751 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their
clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of
tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when
[855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and
convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong
and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose
/Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihǎggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they
[177] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds
which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country
or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is
relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the
bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic
germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount
of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight
disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from
the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.
[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they
are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances
which separate one from the other are a natural defense against
mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where
they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention small-
pox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great
ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a
whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg.
But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with
one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his
arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.
753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of
contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems,
they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the
talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them
from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[156] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these
sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

755 When a bad genie is supposed to inhabit a person's body, people gather together and make a frightful uproar around him, accompanied by the tom-tom. The object of this is to put him in a trance so that the genie finally becomes frightened and decides to go away.
[233] They use the same method for camels who are sometimes stricken with nervous difficulties.

A few years ago, a noble Ahaggar woman was subject to epileptic seizures. She had hallucinations and said she was possessed by an evil genie which she saw and felt in her. And so, each time the seizure occured, the people of her camp engaged in their /262/ habitual demonstrations. One day she got it into her head to get rid of her guest and slit her throat to allow him to leave. She wounded herself so badly that her life was in great danger for a long time afterwards. Scarcely had she recovered, however, when she had another attack and slit her throat a second time.

759
752 The surgery of the Kel Ahaggar is as elementary as their medicine. First let us say that there are no surgeons among them, no more than there are persons known for their medical knowledge. Medicine and surgery are everybody's business; the knowledge that they possess is everybody's domain, and each Tuareg is able to care for himself or for the people in his camp. For surgical operations, nevertheless, the Enaden are called upon by preference,
752 since they are generally more adroit than the others. They usually
413 have small instruments that they make themselves -- forceps, instruments for baring the neck of teeth, scarificator, cupping glasses, tonsil cutters, etc. -- and with which they operate quite skillfully.

They have been very aptly compared to our barber-surgeons of days gone by. (1)

752
413
1. Dr. Foley, Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Mores and Medicine among the Ahaggar Tuareg/, p. 85.

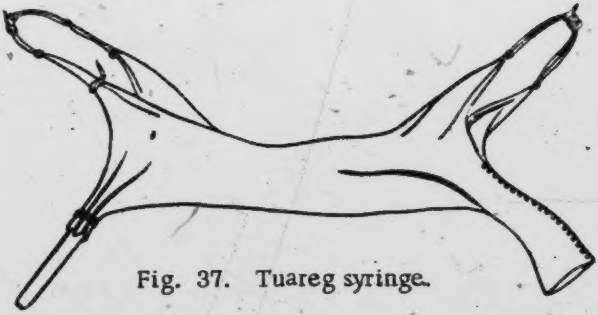


Fig. 37. Tuareg syringe.

752 [278] The warlike and eventful life of the Tuareg exposes them to many wounds or accidents. They care for war wounds by sprinkling the wound with sugar or smearing it with plasters of vegetable origin, chopped leaves of the Zizyptus lotus, or ground resin of the Balsamodron africanum. Sometimes they pour butter on it, and if the wound is infected they apply plasters of butter and ashes of aferegak (Chrozophora brocchiana).

But we have been able to observe that the use of this ash was of no great efficacy, that the wounds took a very long time to heal, and that in many cases they preferred to call on a European doctor.

Fractures are cared for with absolutely the same methods as those used by our European doctors. The fractured member, after being set, is coated with a flour plaster, furnished with a little cushion of goat hair, and braced by means of splints made of wooden boards attached to a sheepskin and kept in place by leather cords.

/263/ We have never seen any amputation among the Tuareg, and we do not know whether or not they know how to do it.

757 413 237 The Tuareg also know the use of enemas. The apparatus is made of a sheep's bone, one end of which has been rounded and

757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413] bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237 one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278] enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855] the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/

Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known.
Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with
his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a
haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
[492] when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the
saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

291 and is worn loose or, more often, drawn in at the waist by a belt; 3) a veil covering the face, letting only the top of the head and the eyes show.

This is the simplest dress of the Tuareg.

292 The holiday garb includes several blouses placed one on top of the other -- a white blouse underneath, an indigo-blue blouse on [556] top of that, and finally, for rich people, a third blouse made of bands of cotton, worked in the Sudan. This last blouse, usually with a purplish background color and large and small embroidery over the chest and the shoulders, includes a wide, deep pocket on the left side of the chest. Broad bands of white and red material gird the loins by forming a belt and cross over the chest to form a shoulder belt. Large silk cords with red or green tassels finish off the costume which gives the Tuareg such an impressive air.

[291]

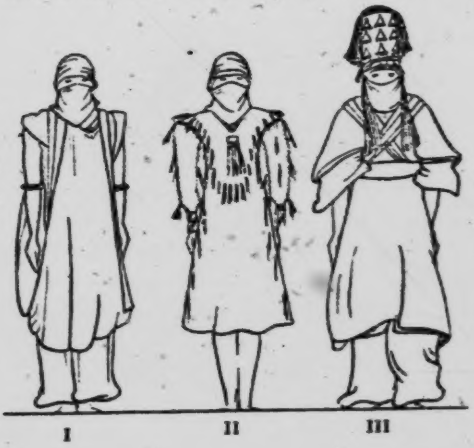


Fig. 38. Ahaggar men's costume.

1) Amrid with his gandurah pulled up over his shoulders.
2) Akli wearing a leather gandurah.
3) Amajer in ceremonial costume with a takoumbout on his head.

[531]

291 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands,
489 are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called
chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it
[556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of
Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling
[435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and
can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In
[177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been
[436] adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as exchange currency for commercial transactions.

291 It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil
174 their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

174 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that
291 there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for
826 a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part
of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take
off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more
comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

291 Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an
entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details
have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate
its meaning.

184 The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts
on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are
291 local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in re-
cent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of
wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This,
moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil
291 according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it
more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when
one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state
of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself
in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner
for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior
conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or
the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured
fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the dis-
orderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

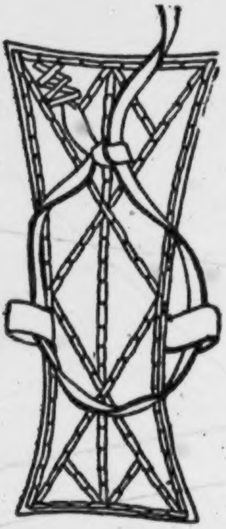
291 The Ihaggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

184 291 Although men's costume does not vary at all, or very little, this is not the case for women's clothing. That worn by Ahaggar women is peculiar to that region, while Aïr or Ioullimmiden women dress in their own way.

Fig. 39. An imerkéden, sandal made of skins sewed together and worn by Ahaggar mountaineers.



291 Tuareg women do not wear trousers but have a white cloth skirt wound around the loins. Ahaggar women wear over it a large white cloth blouse, similar in shape to that of the men, but closed
556 on the sides. Well-to-do women wear a second blouse on top, made of indigo-dyed cloth.

184 291 In Aïr the blouse is replaced by a little bolero, and in Ioullimmiden tribes women usually go bare chested or content themselves with a rectangular piece of material which they casually throw over their shoulders.

291 They do not veil their faces like the men. A little mantilla made of one or two toukourdi is worn wrapped around the head and

face to hide their features in front of strangers. During their moves, Ahaggar women use a big, broad-brimmed straw hat -- the télé -- to protect themselves from the sun. 291 [484]

/269/ They wear irratimen on their feet like the men, but more often they go barefoot. In the Sudan, during the rainy season, they replace the leather irratimen by very light wooden irratimen, which fulfill the same function there as wooden shoes do for us.

[184]

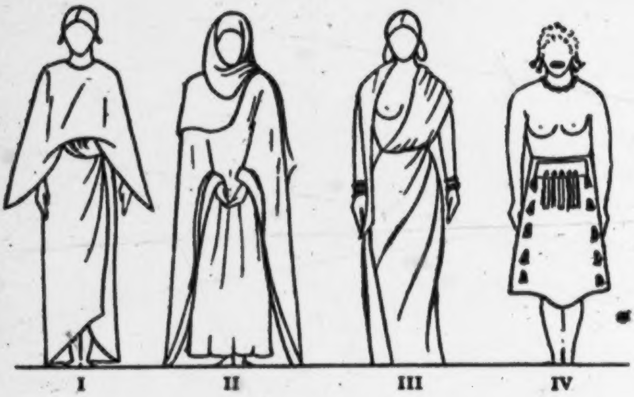


Fig. 40. Costume of Tuareg women.

1) Costume of Aïr Tuareg women, which includes a skirt and a little bolero.
2) Ahaggar Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a big gandurah reaching to the feet.
3) Sudanese Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a shawl around the shoulders.
4) Leather skirts for servant girls, in use in Ioullimmiden tribes.

In the Ahaggar and the Tassili, men and women wear a large white wool haik to wrap up the head and shoulders. During the cold period of winter they wrap up in a long woolen blanket (dokkali) made by the Arabs in Touat. The latter exchange them with the Ihaggaren for sheep. [439]

[177] 291 174 Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial [181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 832 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

301 [114] This stone ring (ahbeg) has been described by the explorer Duveyrier as a weapon. Actually it is only ornamental in nature, for it is so fragile that it could not withstand strong pressure without shattering, which might seriously wound the man wearing it.

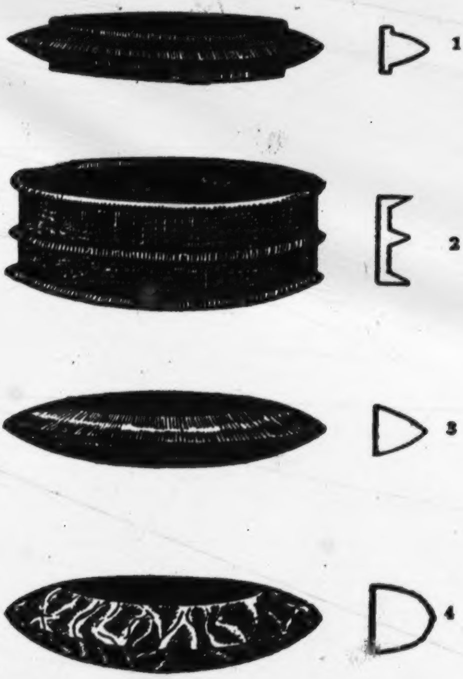


Fig. 41. Types of bracelets worn above the elbow by the Tuareg. 1, 2, and 3 are in soft schist from Aïr, and 4 is made of marble from the Hombori region.

[171] At the present time the Tuareg are the only African people who wear this stone ring, except for some groups of people who live in contact with them and have adopted it in a spirit of imitation.
172 It was, however, in very common use among Neolithic peoples,
301 and it is not rare to find fragments of them in the middle of ancient

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

301 751 /272/ They also wear quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among [283 777] the Tuareg. They maintain that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

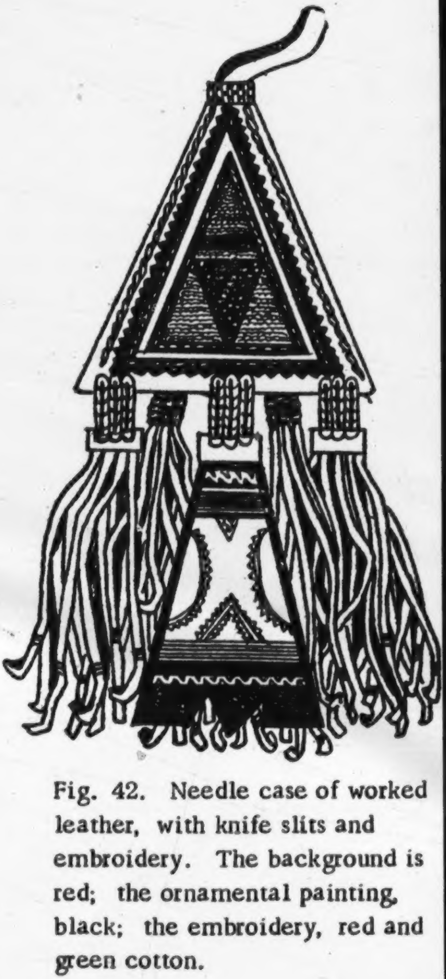
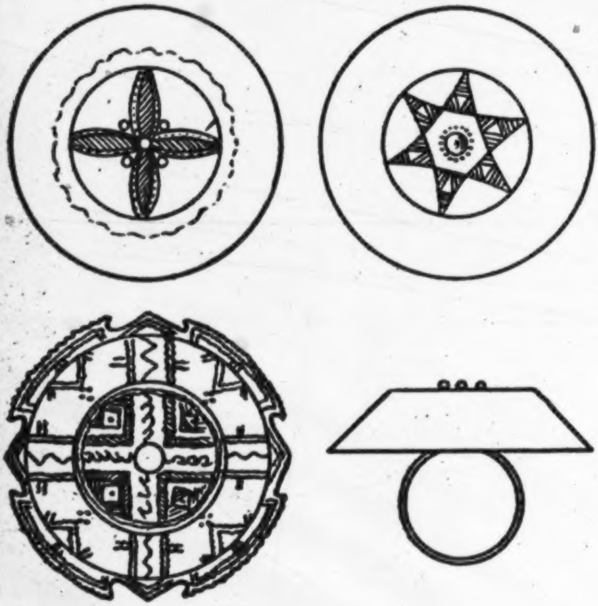


Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand. [556]

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women. [177]



[531]

Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (amereóuan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter. [237] [428 556]

301 Under the necklace Tuareg women wear /274/ pectoral pendants, a small one shaped like a lozenge with a red stone set in it and embellished at the base with little triangular plaquettes, and another
[531] large-sized one made of several triangles with big silver cabochons, each one decorated at the base with small triangular plaques.

The style of these jewels is simple and quite peculiar to the Tuareg. Although their triangular shape recalls somewhat that of Kabyle jewels, it is nonetheless true that they show no relationship with the
[531] North African goldsmith's craft and that it is very difficult to explain their origin.

Tuareg women of the Ahaggar do not wear earrings but great massive silver rings which are hung on each side at the height of the ears by a leather thong which passes over the top of their heads.

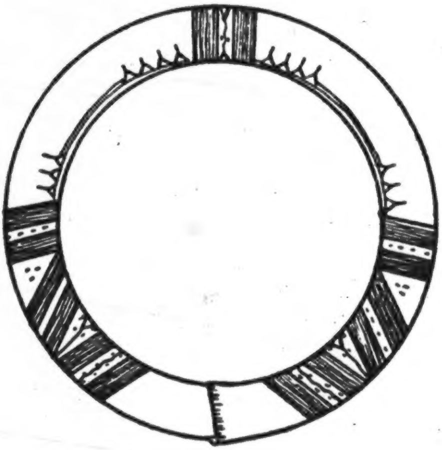


Fig. 44. Silver bracelet worn at the wrist by women.

Very often they also wear little hair pendants which are attached to the ends of their braids of hair.

301
412 Both men and women are supplied with little tweezers to extract thorns (the irremdan), which they wear over the shoulder. That of the women, which is copper and bi-triangular shaped, /275/ takes on the nature of a jewel, for it is carefully worked and has a real artistic character. That of the men is simpler; it is completed with a little awl and a knife blade and serves as a small portable surgical kit.

People adorn themselves with their jewels only during festivals; 30
they are ordinarily kept in bags closed by a curious rectangular pad- [527]
lock, which is provided with one or two interior bolts; it must be [414]
undone with an enormous key which the Tuareg always have on their [415]
person.

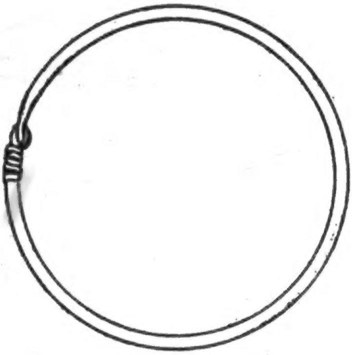


Fig. 45. Ahaggar Tuareg women's ear hoop.

/276/

Chapter 9

Arts and Crafts Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The nomadic and pastoral life which the Tuareg lead obviously 32
limits the development of craft techniques and that of art itself. For [532]
them, all is reduced to the immediate necessities of everyday life -- articles for the household and the house itself, harnesses, clothing, and, accessorily, adornment.

If we look for the raw materials used and at the disposal of the Tuareg for making the different objects which they need, we observe that wood comes first, then leather, then certain graminaceae stems, and finally metals.

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have
for working these different raw materials, we notice that their
enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation
325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations
463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and
564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg
industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto.
In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the
[174] Enaden with their social
organization, that they
used metals. Therefore,
[415 we perceive the considerable
531] role which artisans must
have played in technical
evolution and that of art
itself.

/277/ The presence
of Enaden in the camps has
reduced the manual labor
[322] of the Tuareg, but the
latter are still able to make
wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

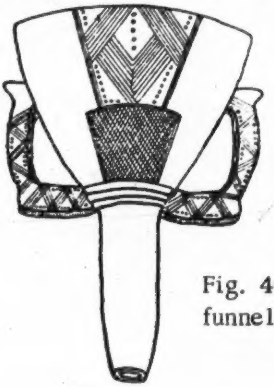
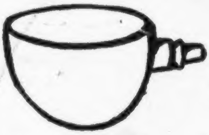


Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high
462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means
322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad,
431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we
found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-
women, of taménokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects
were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re-
[174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual
labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must former-
ly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the
creation of the artisan class.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking 322
vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, re- 281
move hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are 462
able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft. [137]



[415
862]

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of
the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the 285
stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) [824]
are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the [283]
combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it [531]
allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women 291
use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the 416
Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 438

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar a few years ago to make arm
438 rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tǎfedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

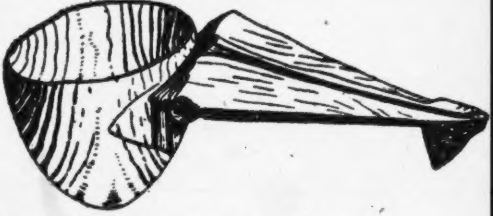


Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[564] silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135] ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439] the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

177 326

coins were for a long time the money standard in all of Central Africa. (1) Copper is chiefly furnished by cartridge cases, and iron by abandoned scraps of old carriages, auto springs, sheet metal, tin cans, etc.

177 328

Aluminum, which is beginning to penetrate into the Niger region, is not yet utilized in the Ahaggar. So far the pipes and guys left to the four corners of the desert by wrecked airplanes have served only to make tent poles.

[325]

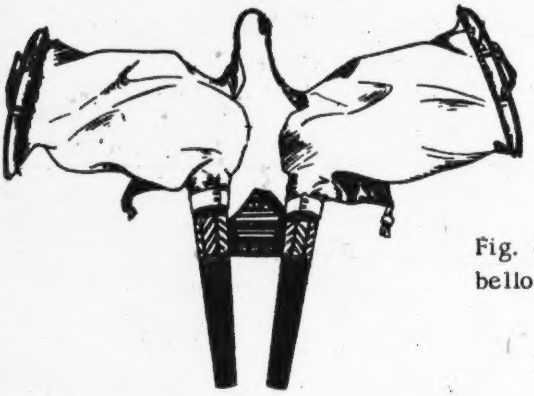


Fig. 49. Double forge bellows.

[177 436]

1. The Maria Theresa dollar was introduced into Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century by navigators and traders who visited the Gulf of Guinea. With the iron bar, it became the basis of commercial exchange, and it was circulated in the interior of West Africa as well as in Abyssinia.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[492 commonly used
414] articles -- saddlery articles, cavessons for
[412] camels, highly ornamented padlocks with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

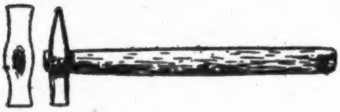


Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihăggaren? That seems difficult, 438 531 517 for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ădrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact [415] that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions.

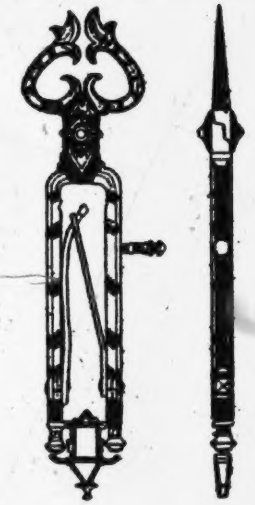


Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

It is difficult 177 517 to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought.

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They 517 have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents [178 some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same di- 172] mensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He

517 may do this with more or less finesse, but his inspiration will stop there. Only work in leather and wood are definitely the achievement of the Ihǎggaren, for they derive from ancient needs and the techniques have been preserved in their hands and not in those of the Enaden.

/282/ Book VI

Social Life

Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

Chapter 1

Social Life

842 We are now going to observe the Tuareg in the details of their social life.

Birth. -- When young people are married, it is seldom that the bonds of marriage are not soon strengthened by the birth of a child. [586] It is very bad form for a young couple not to have a child, and sterility of one of the partners is often a cause for divorce.

843 The pregnant Tuareg woman continues to see to the household tasks, surrounded by the respect of her associates.

844 When the time for delivery approaches, the woman has herself taken to her parents' camp, if she is not there already, for she will give birth in her husband's camp only in case of absolute necessity.

A tent is set up where the woman is installed. She is usually assisted by a midwife who massages her belly and makes sure that

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the
[756] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent,
giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go
near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces
herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby
falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose.
The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby
in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure
he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in
[856] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow,
and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape.
[174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is
no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a
846 sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant
to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is
made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new
mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl.
[842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to con-
[illegible] gratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to
see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under
[751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which
are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby
has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [574] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ǎnaba, the panther; Ǎbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ǎhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin *angelus*.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen [145] and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [783] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

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2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and
rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[789] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782 tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the
creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of
livestock.

846 After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.

431 Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
662 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls,
for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

854 In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his
loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes
attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed
over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg
use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or
on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the
child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk
is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
[826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517] ennobles the woman.

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (*amoud*, *amilli*, or
852 *azemmoued*) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
[412 302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated
for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[462] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The *litham* /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
[145] father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
291 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice,
[431] and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

881 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

668 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

[534] Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and [212] most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

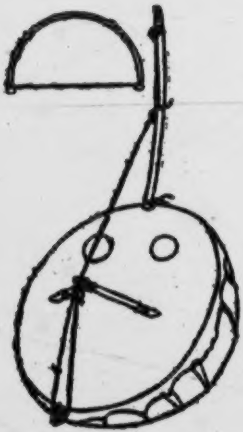


Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534
237 The amzad is made of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[237] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The *amzad* skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihǎggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The *amzad* plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
533 ing the *amzad* is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
626 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no *amzad*,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

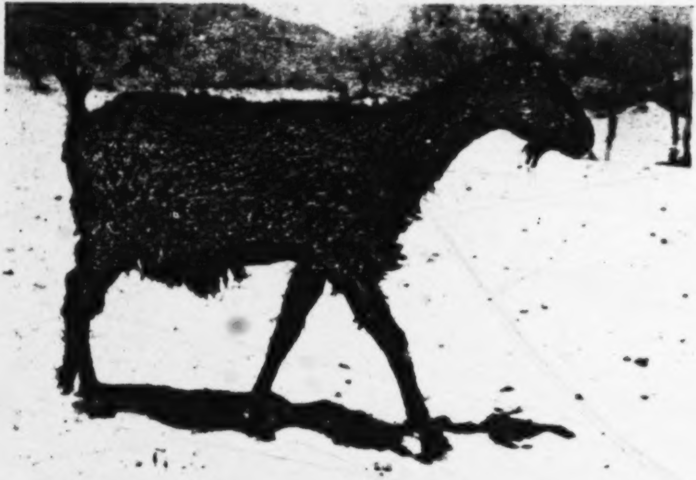
882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
access to adult society and begin to participate in the *ahal*.

571 The word *ahal* means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
521 synonym for it is *édéouenné*. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with *asri*.

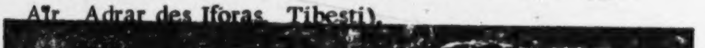
517 *Asri*, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of *asri* is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of *asri* are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

Plate XIII

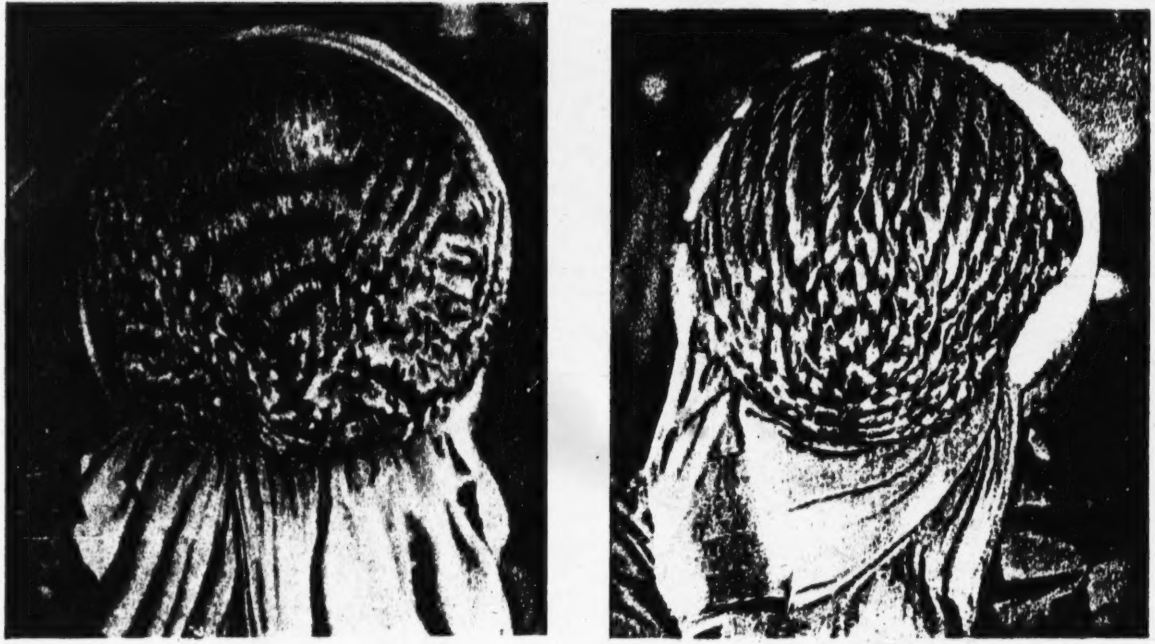


Long-haired Ahaggar goat. This species is localized in the mountain massifs of the Central Sahara (Ahaggar, Aïr, Adrar des Iforas, Tibesti).



Daman sheep, or Tuareg sheep, very widespread in the Sahelian steppe, is also rather common in the Ahaggar, [439] but it is raised there only accessorily. It is a very sturdy beast, and many caravaneers import them from Adrar des Iforas by making them cross the Tanezrouft. It is characterized by its long legs and long tail.

Plate XIV



Typical men's hair styles. The hair is braided and taken around to the back. The veil encircles the forehead, leaving the top of the head uncovered.

517 meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if
521 it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each per-
571 son takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to
533 alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect
a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that
the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke,
/289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the
recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president
is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient
[574] cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men
come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy
clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers
to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls
and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the
violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out
of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature
and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho"
on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And every-
[538 one jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a
522] very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar
repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides.
[832] Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is
the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late
at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without
having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures
to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

836 The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so
that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not
exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

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1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

836 pure until her marriage," said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those
are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as
soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before
she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg." (2) Indeed, the women are
more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others
grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them
[839] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad
577 taste and a sign of perversion.

No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition
[554] that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted
by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not
more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com-
[833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, *effusio seminis inter crura* is
probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous
after the *ahal*. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unrelated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible
that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (*agama*) are the
[848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion,
but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought
of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

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2. *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

1. *Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar* /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and
tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says
[756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price,
makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words
in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the
water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices
are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid.
[278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of
adjerdjir (*Cassia abavata*), and in case the results are still negative,
the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Al-
[797] though these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some-
what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some-
848 times punished severely.

174 The *ahal* seems to have existed in ancient North African
Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women
among the Nasamonians, and the *ahal* is, in fact, only a derived
and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is
understandable that young men and women do not care to marry
early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men,
before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she
still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand,
[593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her
to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form
a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's
father through one of his parents or through a religious person if
there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but
in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of
[587] the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the
woman has already been married, her father's permission is no
longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
[584 565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats,
or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid
all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the
parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
593 property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
[562] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's
[421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or
decreases.

As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the
584 marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter
[184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and
585 the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers
and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents,
where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During
the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé
does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then
takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company.
During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

The entertainment which accompanies the marriage
[536] festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass
back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the
[533] tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the
Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of
"aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where
the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

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1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand
mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place.
Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected
and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage con-
firmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst
a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent,
where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a
year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was
practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with
his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent
period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and
that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and
accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening
to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The
meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst
of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of
the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and
claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

/293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and
[492] the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[492] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband.
[574] In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents,
but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they
take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to misbehave.
837 According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

593 The very independent Tuareg woman has a very bad /294/ temper and in addition is often quite jealous. At the least misconduct by her husband, she goes home to her parents. She restores conjugal rights only after material compensation. For his part, the man is violent, and that often provokes disagreement in the household.

582 Obstacles to marriage. -- The cases of obstacles to marriage are identical with those fixed by Moslem law. It is forbidden to marry one's near relations, one's nurse or the child of one's nurse, or a woman having been fed with the same milk as oneself.

Alliances between Imochar and Imrad are very rare, for the Imochar who marries a woman from the vassal class makes his children lose the rights attached to his rank.

Noble and vassal women are willing to unite with Arabs, especially if they are marabouts, always on the condition that they respect monogamy, conform to Tuareg mores, and promise to live in the woman's camp. Tuareg men very seldom marry Arab women.

586 Divorce. -- Separation does not exist, so to speak, among the Tuareg, who make use of divorce, but do not abuse it. It is allowed by the Koran and is not subject to opprobrium. A Tuareg woman may ask for a divorce, while an Arab woman may not. The woman instigates it much more often than the man. The reasons set forth by the wife are usually bad treatment by her husband, insufficient support, embezzlement of animals, misconduct (which is a more rare motive), and sometimes nonpayment of the balance of the bride price.

The man more commonly sets forth misconduct, his wife's sterility, dispute over the bride price of animals, incompatibility, and often misunderstanding between the wife and her parents-in-law.

A few diseases such as leprosy may be grounds for divorce.

Divorces seldom take place without difficulties, and if a wife wants to leave her husband, any motive is good. The act of

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called *ettef* or *ellouddet* in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called *tannanleft* during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called *agar* in
824 Tamashek (*Maerua crassifolia*). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of *asri*. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
682 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the *dia*, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[482] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the
men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at
[782 793] chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the
[562] burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

[264 765] After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

[166] Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

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Chapter 2

Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

777 The Tuareg are Moslem today, but their conversion to Islam is very superficial and relatively recent. Although, like all new converts, they strive to hide their former beliefs, it is nonetheless true that these beliefs have left still visible traces among them. For a few years they have made a point of honor of calling themselves good disciples of the Prophet, and they have even tried to claim a sherif origin. Thus it is very difficult to obtain the least enlightenment on their former religion from them.

What were these ancient beliefs? Idolatry or fetishism? On this subject we can only interpret some facts which will always remain very vague, for, as Gautier says, the Tuareg are Islamized enough to have lost all curiosity about their own pre-Islam past.

172 Prehistoric and protohistoric cults. -- If we closely examine the rock drawings and paintings discovered in the Central Sahara in the last few years, we find a certain number of elements which can give us an idea of the beliefs of these ancient inhabitants. Perhaps there is no connection between the latter and the Tuareg, which is probable, but it can also be granted that there were common points of contact down through the centuries which have left traces in the different peoples who inhabited the regions we are interested in.

In the precameline drawings, earlier than the bovid period, the totemic nature is brought out by several persons with zoomorphic heads (dog, mastiff) and false tails; they recall the representation of the old gods of ancient Egypt and at the same time the ritual disguises still used among African Negroes. They may be either appropriate disguises used for hunting in order to be able /299/ to approach game more easily, or else they are persons wearing masks

172 for religious reasons. At any rate it may be stated positively that the fertility cult was in vogue at the same epoch, to judge from the many drawings which are erotic in character. Finally, we may add that magic was practiced with regard to some animals -- antelopes, hippopotamuses. Their reproductions are often connected with cabalistic signs, such as a double spiral or an appendage between the horns resembling the uraeus of the Egyptians. Several stone statuettes, probably from the Neolithic age, have been found at Tit, Tazerouk (Ahaggar), and Tabelbalet (Tassili). They represented animals, rams or bovids and owls, which were surely the object of idolatry.

In the so-called bovid period, identical observations may be made. Several cows wear disks between their horns or else a little ring representing a slip knot. Perhaps these drawings are related to ram worship which was very much in vogue in North Africa and especially in the oasis of Ammon; this cult seems to have been replaced in the Central Sahara by worship of the cow. This animal was still honored as a god by the Berbers, who called it Doul Korneïn. The Sudanese Peul had no mystic life except [171] their cow worship. We must explain that no similar belief has been discovered among the Tuareg.

The rock paintings, which are on the whole more recent than the oldest drawings, also give us a few indications to be remembered. Near Djanet a large painted panel represents a series of more or less steatopygic women dancing in the middle of a circle of people who are clapping their hands; then on his side, a man enters in turn into the dance, wearing a mask topped with horns (he is a sorceror or wears an ancestors' mask). This is exactly the picture of the magic scenes which we see among the Sudanese, where they periodically organize dances in which the masks of family ancestors participate. Traces of these dances have even been maintained [532 535] in the Djanet oasis; every year there, on the occasion of the festival of "zébiba," people dress in tawdry finery and masks topped with horns. At Mertoutek one may also see a large

172 personage painted in the back of an apse resembling an altar; his head is crowned /300/ by an enormous disk which must be religious in nature. Finally, many little human figures are headless, which, according to several scholars, Gautier in particular, must be interpreted as an interdiction relating to the head; the wearing of the veil among the Tuareg would be a reminder of this.

Let us also recall that in Tuareg country there are numerous stone disks, large in diameter, which might be ancient altars intended for sun worship (Gautier). There are also many pagan tombs where the bodies lie in a fetal position, a custom of religious nature which was widespread in all of North Africa and in pre-Pharaonic Egypt.

000 Religion of the ancient Libyans. -- We have only very little information on the religion of the ancient Libyans, most of it left by Herodotus. This author tells us that the Nasamonians venerated the tombs of those of their ancestors who passed for having been the most just and the best, and that they swore on them by going to touch their tombs (CLXXII). The Ammonians from the Ammon oasis practiced ram worship, which must have been borrowed from Thebes, where Zeus, the god of that locality, was pictured as a human being with a ram's face (CLXXXI). The Auseans worshipped the goddess Athena, daughter of Poseidon and the *limmê* Tritonis (CLXXX). As for the Atlantes, greatly renowned for their wisdom, they did not dream dreams (that is, they did not use oracles as most of the Mediterranean peoples did) and ate nothing which had been alive (CLXXXIV); this may be interpreted as a vestige of totemism. Herodotus tells us further that all the Libyan nomads, who lived from Egypt to Lake Tritonis and ate meat and milk, imitated the Egyptians and abstained from eating beef and pork; their wives also followed that rule out of respect for Isis, the Egyptian goddess (CLXXXVI). They all made sacrifices to the moon and to the sun. Those of Lake Tritonis made sacrifices to Athena, then to Triton and Poseidon (CLXXXVIII).

000 In the third century B.C., the Massyles, a Numidian nation, worshipped Cronus, it is said, and offered him human victims. (1)

1. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* /Ancient History of North Africa/, vol. IV, p. 289.

The Byzantine author Corripus tells us, on the other hand, that the /301/ Louata and the Hoouara professed paganism. They pictured divinity in the shape of a bull who was the source of other native gods also having the shape of young bulls. One bore the name of Gurzil. They had holy idols whose names they shouted during battles, and these idols were watered with the blood of sacrifices on the eve of the battles.

114 175 Christianization. -- Much has been said about an early Christianization of the Tuareg. Duveyrier in particular attributed the high place of women in Tuareg society to Christian influence. He wanted to see the same influence in the existence of a certain number of Latin words of religious origin in Tamashek, as well as in the decorative motifs of some objects where the cross is often represented (on warriors' bucklers, in saddle pommels, on the handles of daggers and swords, in a little pendant worn around the neck by women).

Furthermore, Duveyrier is not the only one of this opinion. One has only to look at the drawing given by Barth (vol. I-II, no. 12), picturing a Tuareg meharist, where the crosses on the saddle and the buckler are clearly Christian. Such a document, which has no connection with reality, is well calculated to propagate a belief based on imagination rather than on the facts.

First we must examine what the true position of Christianity was in North Africa, where it took root in the first years of the Christian era. From the very first the new religion made great progress; many bishops were created who took the new faith from Caesarean Mauritania to Byzacène /Byzacium? Tr./ reaching the High Plateaus

114 175 and even the Chott Djerid. According to Tertullian, not only was all of proconsular Africa Christian, but also all the Syrta /Syrtis Minor? Ed. / region and some Getulian tribes as well. However, Father Mesnage, to whom we owe important works on Christianization in Africa, has asked with justification whether the ministers of the gospel were sufficiently careful of the quality *of the new converts. The spectacle given in particular* by the community of Carthage in 250, at the time of the persecution of Decius, was really lamentable, and the apostates numbered thousands. The Numidians, by converting to Christianity, /302/ adopted the religion of their conquerors, or at least they seemed to be converted, for the masses remained pagan. What, then, are we to think of the nomadic tribes who still escaped the masters of North Africa? In a letter written to Hesychius, Bishop of Salone in Dalmatia, Saint Augustine said "that the gospel had not been preached among the barbarians, and as for the more remote nations who did not in any way recognize Roman power, they did not belong to the Christian religion through any of those who make it up." (Letter no. 199)

Speaking of the Berbers to whom the gospel had been preached, Saint Gregory said, in another connection, that many had remained pagan and continued to worship stones and trees. (1)

1. Saint Gregory, IV, 23, 27; VIII, loc. cit, Mesnage, Le Christianisme en Afrique /Christianity in Africa/, vol. I, p. 75.

On the other hand, Procopius tells us that about 548, under Emperor Justinian, the Nasamonians from Ghadames were converted and that in 569 the Garamantians from Fezzan concluded a peace treaty with the empire and were also converted. "Never was the faith so widespread in Africa," says Father Mesnage.

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the 175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians. [531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the [192 Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have 174] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than 175 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian 797 nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 797 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

174 It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

173 531 We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 173 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

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1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

797 Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in
173 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription
[172] painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

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(1) Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right
[177] away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged
[669] for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

Plate XV

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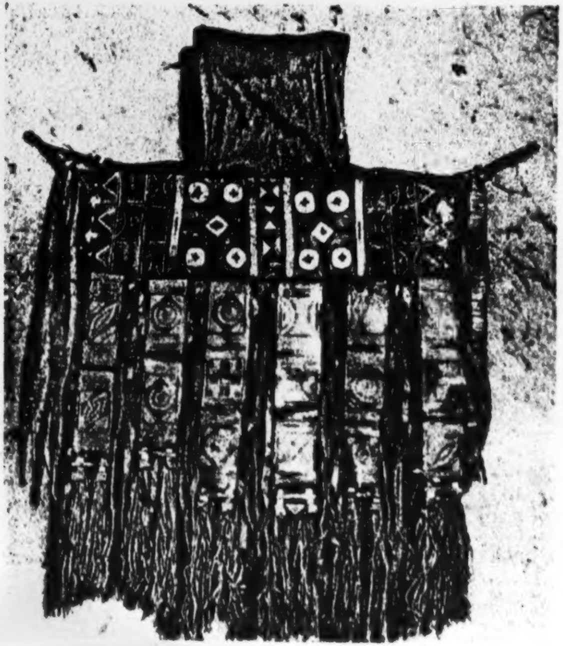
Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

Plate XVI

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Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of read-
ing the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tǎitok,
[773 for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There
212] are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with
a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than any-
thing else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and
[346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an
alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and
a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make
their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously.
795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are
175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle
of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the *Tijaniyyah* was
powerful among them. The majority of the people that the ex-
plorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members,
but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In
Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were
Senusi /*Sanusiyyah* sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh,
who were the most important groups of the *Tijaniyyah*, fought
France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that
brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The
principal representatives of the *Tijaniyyah* in Tuareg country were
the Tassili Ifôra, whose *zāwiyah* of Témaçinine had been founded
by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very
great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the
little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ǎdrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the *ouerd* from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are *Qādiriyyah* (Kel es Souq) and others *Tijaniyyah* (Daoussahak).

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
781 not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men among the Ihǎggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669 religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
793 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to
[794] Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place, and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[554] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

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1. Op. cit., p. 413.

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its
fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out
their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
177 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression
of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing
them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small
565] Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded
in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a
[789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's
foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with
orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be
ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends
of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some
of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès.
[177 The Ihǎggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and
782] only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

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1. *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

1. Gautier, *La conquête du Sahara*, in Vermale, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

2. In Vermale, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

177 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[755] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
769 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
787 of those who are absent.

778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that
life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave
different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps
Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the
centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly
related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs;
only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited
by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones
every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already
pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious
beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The
uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several
ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

787 with a mirror or else with a lizard, which are questioned following different forms and which must answer the questions asked.

Dreams are interpreted in different ways. If a man dreams of black, it is a bad sign; of white, he will receive money; of dates, some one around him or he himself will be wounded; of a viper, some one will cast an evil spell on him, etc. (1)

1. *Cf.* Vermale, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 and 186.

We shall add that the Tuareg also believe in omens and interpret the unexpected presence of animals, crows, gazelles, and sparrows. Certain days or certain months, certain even or uneven numbers, are considered good or bad omens.

/310/

Book VII

Relations With the Outside World

Chapter 1

Trade, Caravans, Caravan Trails, and Transport

660 As far back as one goes into the past, one notices that the Sahara has always played the role of bridge between North Africa and Africa below the equator, and that there has never been a watertight bulkhead erected between the two regions.

The North Africans have always given their attention to the wealth of the Sudan. We have several proofs of this, among others the periplus of the Carthagenian Hanno, who was instructed to explore the African coast west of the Pillars of Hercules, and the voyage of the three young Nasamononians who tried to cross the desert in the time of Herodotus.

660 The subtropical zone is Negro country. The Egyptians were well aware of that, and they drew much profit from this distant neighbor. Their Pharaohs did not hesitate to send military expeditions to bring back gold, ivory, ostrich plumes, and human livestock! The North African inhabitants were not ignorant of it either, and soon the riches of the Sudan were a fact known by all. Great caravan routes grooved the whole Sahara from north to south.

174 Their trail seems to have bypassed the Ahaggar. We do not
487 know the real reasons for this, but we can guess them. The mountain must have been avoided because of the obstacles it presented, its altitude and the rocky nature of the ground. The shortest trail which follows a north-south direction therefore cannot pass through the Ahaggar but can run along beside it. That is what happened. The reputation as brigands and highway robbers which the Tuareg enjoyed is perhaps not irrelevant to this turning away of the caravan trails either.

487 /311/ The great arteries which furrow the immediate approaches of the Ahaggar tie important oases together. They were able to
[439] prosper because of the fact that these oases participate directly in the life of the Tuareg and because the Tuareg need them to ensure their food supplies.

The largest and most frequented trail is the one connecting the oases of the Touat and Tidikelt to the city of Agadez. For the Ihǎggaren this is the granary route: dates at the Tidikelt, millet in the Sudan. It takes 40 days to go from Akabli to Agadez, and the Ahaggar is halfway between. There is a mountain near the guelta /well? Ed./ of Outoul located 18 kilometers west of Tamanrasset which the Arabs call Ounous and which marks exactly half the way. This trail is, in fact, used by the Arabs, for whom the Sudan is an attraction. They gain very great benefits from these transactions, and everyone's dream is to be able to take a caravan to the Sudan, whence he hopes to return a rich man.

After leaving In-Salah the trail crosses the Ahaggar through the Arak gorges, reaches Lower Koudia at I-n-Ǎmegel, passes to

487 Tamanrasset, crosses the Tanezrouft through In Guezzam, and reaches the Sudanese zone either by the well of In Abangarit or by the well of Taket-n-koutat.

From Agadez the caravaneers usually go toward Zinder, Kano, or Sokoto.

Another trail, less frequented today but which formerly played a very important role, is the one connecting the oases of Ghadame and Ghat to Timbuktu or Gao. This is the route which the Sonrhai pilgrims used to take to go to Egypt. It was then much more a religious route than a trade route, for transactions between Fezzan and Timbuktu were very little developed and centered around the gold which came from Bâmbouk.

The trail, leaving Ghat crossed the plain of Ădmer, cut across Ădrar Ănahef, reached A'ltoklane, Ăbalessa, and Silet, and crossed the Tanezrouft either by Tin Rerhoh or T-i-m-missao to end up at Tin Zaouaten. Then, crossing Ădrar des Ifôras it arrived either at Gao by following the hollow of the Tilemsi, or at Timbuktu.

It is by this trail that the Arab traveler Ibn Batouta returned home from Gao. He left the trail after having crossed the Tanezrouft and entered the Ahnet to reach Touat.

There used to be another trail, Ghadames-Ghat-Timbuktu, /312/ which completely avoided the Ahaggar and went from Ghat to In-Salah by crossing Tassili-n-Ăjjer. This detour obviously made the route longer, but it was much safer for the caravaneers than the Ahaggar route, for it was entirely under the control of the Tassili Tuareg, who were on good terms with the people of the oases of Ghat and the Touat. It takes 25 days to go from Ghat to In-Salah by this itinerary, and one months from In-Salah to Gao.

The road from In-Salah to Gao is still very much frequented at the present time, not only by Arabs from the Touat, but also by [439] the Ahaggar Tuareg and the Tuareg from the Ădrar des Ifôras. This is the "sheep" trail, the one used by the caravaneers who are engaged in trading in livestock on the hoof and who supply meat to

487 the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat which have none. Thanks to
439 the wells of T-i-m-missao and In Ziza, the sheep succeed in crossing the Tanezrouft without too much suffering.

484 This trace movement is evidently engaged in only during
221 the coolest months of the year, that is, from October to April, and it demands great precautions from the caravaneers.

312 Here is a list of the wells, starting from Time'laouine (Ǎdrar
484 des Ifôras), where the animals are watered, as well as the number
487 of days of march between them, according to the information furnished us by El Bak el Fassi, the Amrar of the Kel Ǎhnet.

Time'laouine (well, watering place)		Ǎdrar des Ifôras
I-n-Gezzal	1 day	
Efenargh	1 "	
In Ouzzal	1 1/2 days	
Tirek	3 "	Tanezrouft
Ti-m-missao	2 "	
Tin Senatet	5 "	Ǎhnet
In Torha	1/2 day	
Aleg'nenou	5 days	
Tin Khalifa	2 "	
In Belret	1 day	
El Khenig	1 1/2 days	Immidir
In-Salah	3 "	Tidikelt

Or 26 1/2 days' march.

484 /313/ Depending on whether pasture is more or less abundant,
439 caravaneers suffer more or less losses in their flocks. Sometimes this loss is complete, sometimes it is none at all.

We saw a Kel Ǎhnet make the trip at the end of the month of April, a period which is not favorable, with 35 sheep and not have to kill more than one of them on the way.

487 When one speaks of a caravan trail, one must banish the idea of a route more or less arranged to facilitate traffic. The Saharian trails are simply marked on the ground by the tracks which the camels make, passing there in the same place for centuries. In the Ahaggar they look like a long, light ribbon running through the middle of the black rocks. The trail may be made up of two, three, or six ribbons which run parallel to each other, depending on its importance and the lay of the land.

Trails always follow the sides of valleys, naturally linking one well to the other and passing from one valley to another through the most accessible passes. They are never marked out. Of
[648 course in some places there are a few redjem, a kind of pile of
312] pebbles to mark the passes or the nearness of certain wells, but
201] these are rare and on the whole recently constructed, for the Ihaggaren have always strived to hide the routes through their country from strangers.

In sandy places and in regolith terrain where the ground is always more or less transformed by the action of the wind, the trail often becomes invisible, and the caravan must then trust to the knowledge of a guide or a man who has already traveled over the road several times and knows it.

Secondary trails. -- There are within the Ahaggar numerous secondary trails which are used for local needs. They all go from one well to another. All the agricultural centers are connected by a network of well-marked trails which are easy to follow without any great knowledge of the country. There are also pasture trails, little routes marked by the repeated trampling of goats going from one valley to the other and winding around the mountains; the animals follow them every day. This network is unbelievably extensive, and one might say that every mountain and every
[174] plateau is furrowed by several of these little paths. /314/ They
are to be found in the most inaccessible and barest places, which shows that the Ahaggar used to be traversed in all directions.

174 in its remotest regions, the result of more intensive goat raising
487 and proof that pastures used to be more numerous than they are today.

492 There are very appreciable differences in the way Tuareg and
484 Arab caravaneers travel. The Arabs always push their camels in front of them; these camels march in a line freely, without any bridle or /head/ rope. The Tuareg, on the other hand, always advance in file, the camels attached one behind the other and guided by a man who takes the head of the convoy by holding one of the animals by the bridle, or else by riding it.

These different methods are imposed for two reasons, both connected with the structure of the terrain. The Arab Sahara is generally a flat country where it is easy to move about and where no natural obstacle opposes the animals' walking. In mountainous country, however, as in the Ahaggar, the narrowness of some trails, particularly going through certain passes, forces them to take precautions to control the camels' march, unless they want to see them crowd up on one another to the detriment of the baggage with which they are loaded. Moreover, pastureage also occurs under different conditions. In the northern Sahara, where the soil consists mainly of calcareous formations, vegetation is always diffuse, which forces the camels to move about a great deal, browsing from one tuft to another. Thus the Arabs have got in the habit of never putting their animals on a leash in order to let them gather tufts of vegetation which are within their reach, all the time they are moving.

In the Ahaggar, as we have had occasion to say, vegetation is, on the contrary, concentrated and sheltered in the valleys where water is hidden under the sandy alluvial deposits. Therefore there is no point in leaving any liberty to the camels; quite the opposite, they must not lose a minute on the trail but must reach

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihăggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the aménokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, [579] and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemâren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 674 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and 674 Boû Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on [608] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is lef[illegible]e spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee [177 272] (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 439 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have be- [486] come free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

439 [437] Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Ifôras and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

439 435 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 *guêcâa* of dates. A *dokkali*, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 [177] The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with [825] *toukourdi*, the band of material serving as a veil, and with *kori* *(Cypraea moneta)*, a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 439 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

[305] This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the
492 Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized.
312 It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water
565 and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the
281 tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more
531 luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast,
531 a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood
322 or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant
177 of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands
171 enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

531

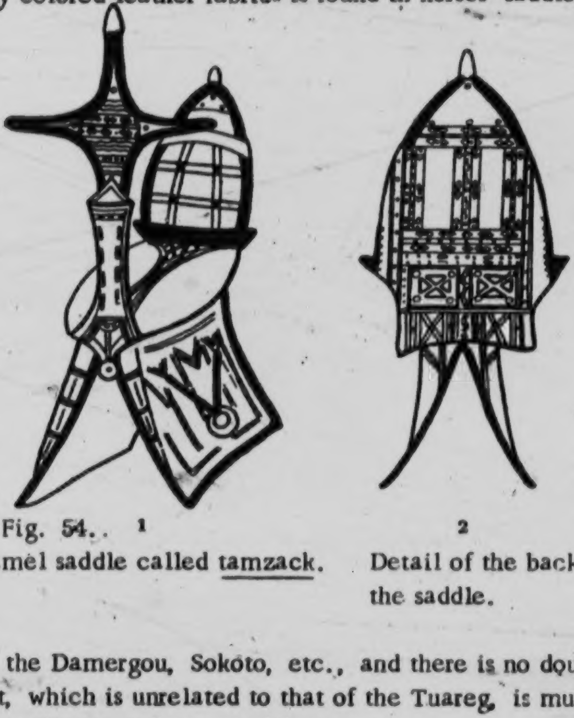


Fig. 54. 1 The camel saddle called tamzack.

2 Detail of the back of the saddle.

438 The two saddles are usually made in Aïr, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the
326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled
492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin.
492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle
171

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Adrar des Ifôras, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 [565] Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the
[481] ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihǎggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a
492 saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/ Chapter 2

War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhal allar) which bound them together for the
duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give
mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed./ but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back,
taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary
to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition.
Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace
was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march,
which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

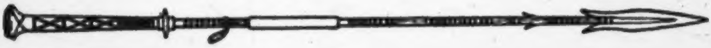
The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men
[411] deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them,
hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting.
The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out
the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they re-
treated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
527 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the
others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.



411
531 Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with
326 copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered
281 with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the *tioussé* demanded

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror
and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and
727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule
and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of
562 being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the
French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps,
abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors.
[648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of
cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the
Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women
enjoyed.

184 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection
726 and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or
562 penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often
the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the
Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women
of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them
completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

184 726 562 more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

721 628 Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Ădrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder [411] of their aménokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

[648] At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihăggaren.

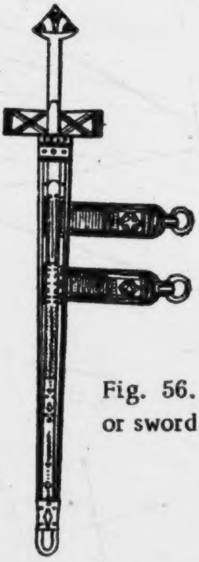


Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

411 Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

[177] [439] /325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals; [531]
javelins with iron shoulder
and point and wooden
staff (tarda), which are
set aside for vassals and
slaves; and the forearm
dagger (télak) provided
with a leather ring so that
it may be hung from the
wrist. In the Sudan slaves
also carry wooden clubs
(tabouri), heavy branches
with a knot at one end.

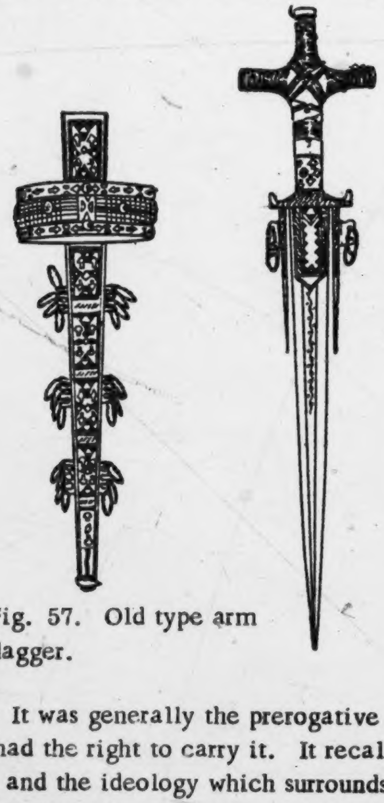


Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only
one defensive weapon,
the buckler (ahrer) which
is made of oryx antelope
skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only
they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531]
shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs
which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal
of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

411 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two.
714 The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives
the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

114 Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow.
411 We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as
to what it used to be used for.

[714-281]

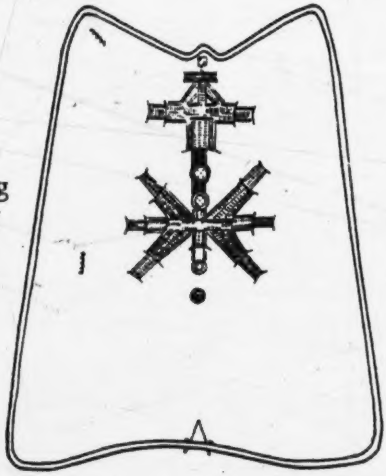


Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx.antelope skin.

411 All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of
the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still
[554] hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders,
and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank
than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still
carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr
one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But
in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy
cases.